



# **Daily Report**

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

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### Reportage of the PTA Summit in Swaziland

#### Moi Opens Forum

MB2311202490 Mbabane Television Service  
in English 0812 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Address by Daniel arap Moi, president of Kenya and chairman of the Preferential Trade Area, at the opening of PTA summit, held at the Royal Swazi Sun Convention Center, Ezulwini, 23 Nov 1990—live]

[Text] Your Majesty, King Mswati III of Swaziland, and the current chairman of the Preferential Trade Area [PTA] authority, Your Excellencies, Heads of State and Government, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am deeply honored to have been entrusted with the responsibility of leading our organization for this past year. This meeting gives me an opportunity to reflect on the status of implementation activities that we set for ourselves.

But first I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to our host, his majesty, King Mswati III, for hosting this summit. We are grateful for the warm and truly African welcome extended to all of us since our arrival in this country endowed with scenic beauty of attractive hills and valleys. [applause]

Your Excellencies, I wish to take this opportunity also to extend a very warm welcome to two of our colleagues who are attending this summit for the very first time. They are the excellencies, Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Republic of Angola, and Umar Hasan al-Bashir, president of the Republic of Sudan. [applause]

Brothers, you are most welcome to this family of the PTA. The accession to the PTA treaty by Angola and Sudan brings our family to 19 countries. It also brings us closer to our cherished dream of creating an economic community for the entire PTA subregion, comprising 22 member states of eastern and southern Africa. We therefore look forward welcoming Botswana, Madagascar, Namibia and Seychelles to the PTA family. And I dare say that one day, and that day is coming soon, we hope to receive a democratic South Africa to the PTA. [applause]

Your Excellency, as we assemble here today, it is gratifying to note that the PTA economic integration process is now well established. Significant progress has been made in various areas of development, despite an unfavorable international economic environment. In the past one year developments in the international socioeconomic and political arena have continued to influence the pace of our economic development.

Either individually or collectively, the major events include the improvement of relations between the East and the West; economic integration movements of Asia, North America, and Europe; the finalization of negotiations on the Lome IV Convention; the multilateral trade negotiations under GATT; [words indistinct] and the worsening debt crisis.

The year which is now coming to an end has been a year of both promise and frustrated expectations. The improvement of relations between East and West was expected to release vast resources from Warsaw and NATO military pacts for peaceful purposes—in particular, the promotion of economic development. But our expectations are being frustrated by various problems facing mankind.

The global economy faces a number of challenges in (meeting) a deteriorating environment and a massive division of resources, especially energy. The Gulf crisis has indeed brought a new dimension, and the world economy now faces imminent recession, worse than that of the oil crisis of the Seventies.

With the consistent decline of official development assistance and direct foreign investment over the last decade, current trends point towards a situation where sub-Saharan Africa will increasingly be side-lined as the bulk of investment resources flow elsewhere. This means that the economic difficulties we face will not only continue, but will also be made worse due to lack of resources for maintaining and expanding the productive base in our economies.

Your Excellencies, you will recall that last year you empowered our Secretariat to be the coordinator and implementing agency for the trade and development activities in eastern and southern Africa. You also mandated the Secretariat to mobilize resources from the EEC as stipulated in the Lome IV convention, signed in December 1989. It was in this context that in April this year I held consultations with the EEC with a view to securing additional resources for the implementation of PTA programs in all sectors.

Africa, and the PTA in particular, constitutes a large area of the ACP [Africa, Caribbean, and Pacific] group of countries. Out of a total of 68 member states of ACP, 45 are African states, of which 20 are from eastern and southern Africa.

Following my discussions with EEC vice president responsible for Africa, a comprehensive integration program of projects worth \$1.3 billion was prepared by our Secretariat for submission to the community for financial and technical support.

Lome IV, unlike the previous convention, will (be) for a period of 10 years, and it will be expected that at the end of the first five years, PTA would have to submit another set of projects for the next five-year period. The PTA is also continuing to mobilize resources from other international agencies, including the African Development Bank, the UN system, the Commonwealth, the Ford Foundation, and from several donor countries. I place these records with much appreciation.

Your Excellencies, as I have earlier stated, these positive developments have been impaired by other factors in international economic relations. Protectionism by the

developed countries continues to restrict the trade opportunities of our countries. For along time now prices of primary commodities on which we so much depend for earning foreign exchange have been forming, despite a business up-swing in the industrialized countries.

At the same time prices of imports from these countries have been rising. It is unlikely that the current trade normalization measures that are now taking place under GATT [words indistinct] will attain their objectives. This means that the market for our exports to the industrialized countries will not improve in the foreseeable future. Consequently, our region will continue to experience acute shortage of foreign exchange. Balance of payments deficits will worsen, especially in the wake of escalating oil prices.

Your Excellencies, another area of concern is the debt problem. Substantial resources from our countries continue to be sucked away for payment of debts. Efforts made to alleviate the debt burden have not got positive results. Our creditors continue to insist on solving the debt crisis in a piece-meal manner, despite our plans and suggestions.

I submit that a lasting solution can only be achieved through collective action by the developed and developing countries. In this respect, the case for strengthening the PTA regional cooperation could not be emphasized more. I would like to remind your excellencies that, as is clearly stated in Articles Three and Twenty-Nine of the PTA Treaty, the cardinal principles of the treaty are self-reliance and collective action among the participating countries. We are pledged to the promotion of cooperation in the sectors of trade and customs, monetary affairs, transport, and communications, agriculture, industry and natural resources. The aim is for us to establish a regional common market and, eventually, an economic community.

I am pleased to inform this august assembly that the [word indistinct] expansion of intra-PTA trade through the (?protection) of tariff and non-tariff barriers is proceeding as envisaged. In addition, we are continuing to strengthen trade expansion activities through tariff and non-tariff reduction and relaxation (?in) the regions of trade information, the supply-demand survey, and monitoring of trade fairs and buyer-seller meetings. In the monetary sector, the utilization of the PTA clearing house has improved significantly. Most of the member states are now channeling trade through the clearing house.

Travelers within the PTA are using the PTA travelers' checks. The PTA bank has commenced financing trade normalization. We are therefore set for the launching of the program on monetary harmonization to create a PTA monetary union.

In the industrial-agricultural sectors, satisfactory progress is being made in the promotion of multinational production enterprises and research institutions. With regard to transport, the focus is on the rehabilitation of inter-state roads, railways, and communications links,

promoting of cooperation in air transport services, and [word indistinct] and inland water transport services.

Your Excellencies, the success of the PTA depends on our political commitment. As we move forward, we shall need to rededicate ourselves to the ideals and objectives of the PTA Treaty. Be mindful that in unity we will achieve self-sustaining growth and development in all our countries. Our sub-region is potentially one of the richest in Africa. If we apply ourselves fully to the challenge of transforming economies, we will succeed, and succeed we must, in order for Africa not to be marginalized.

The pursuit of our goals and objectives as envisaged in the PTA Treaty is based on the assumption that peace and stability will prevail on our respective member states. It is on these principles that we should not hesitate to contain acts of destabilization in our region, either from within or from elsewhere. Altogether, we should not allow or condone acts that would endanger human life anywhere, or disrupt economic development. [Words indistinct] and acknowledge that change is an integral and necessary part of social and economic development. It must come in an orderly and peaceful manner, without retarding economic growth and causing social upheavals.

In the PTA sub-region we still have the unjust system of apartheid in South Africa. We, however, welcome the positive steps taken by President Frederik de Klerk towards the eradication of apartheid. The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the stage of emergency, and the return home of freedom fighters are encouraging steps. We hope that the current negotiations can proceed quickly and seriously, with a view to creating a nonracial South Africa.

In concluding, I would once again to thank you for the support that you have given me during my tenure of office as chairman. I also wish to thank the international community for the assistance they have provided to our organization, in particular, the UNDP [UN Development Program], FAO [UN Food and Agriculture Organization], WHO, UNIDO [UN International Development Organization], [word indistinct], the EEC, the World Bank, the African Development Bank, and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

I would also wish to thank the United Kingdom, Denmark, Germany, the USSR, Australia, and Egypt for the technical and financial assistance provided to our organization.

As you know, our secretary general, Mr. Bax Nomvete, who has shouldered the responsibility for implementing our decisions since January 1984, will be leaving us at the end of this year. He has worked tirelessly and put in enormous effort since he assumed the stewardship of our organization. The best thing that the PTA can offer such a man is by striving to achieve the goals and ideals and ideas which he helped to establish. [applause] I am sure you will join me in thanking our out-going secretary general for a job well done. [applause]

The role of the Secretariat, and in particular, that of the head of such an institution, is paramount in the attainment of the common goals. I wish therefore, in welcoming the new secretary general, Dr. (Bingu wa Mobariga), to request him to emulate the example of his predecessor. He will need to do all in his power to avoid the experience that the PTA went through at the inception, and make sure that the fast pace of economic integration among the PTA member states is maintained.

As I will be, within the next few minutes, passing on the mantle of the political leadership of our organization to you, Your Majesty, I have no doubt in my mind that, under your dynamic and capable leadership, the economic integration process in the eastern and southern African sub-region will be enhanced to greater commanding heights during the coming year.

I take the opportunity to pledge my total support, and that of my countrymen, to our new chairman, and to the cause and objectives of the PTA. And we should encourage, as much as possible, our brothers who have not yet become members of the PTA. I am thinking of the president of Namibia, Mr. Nujoma, and the Nambina people. I wish and will hope that they will soon join this organization.

Equally, there are others, and in particular, South Africa. I would like South Africans to move fast and make sure that the ANC and other organizations unite together and move South Africa, so that sooner or later they will become members of this organization.

I hope that the (?brethren) will seek the mandate of the total population of South Africa, and I would like ANC to give them a measure of confidence, so that the black man can be seen to be leading, rather than having trivial quarrels within South Africa. I support entirely the leadership of the ANC, and I want the ANC to give the lead, so that the white race will feel that the black man can lead others.

As you all know, we have been working for many years. Many people do not understand political intrigue [word indistinct] we move into the future, particularly the black man. The black man has been cheated left and right, not knowing what [word indistinct] these political intrigues. It is a game of chess, and (?those) that enter that game of chess as a learner, they will tumble. [applause]

Some time one of the newspapers wrote in America that Moi belongs to the old political thought. I said, yes, by all means, because, colonialists, I knew them. I knew their tricks, and so on. So the new generation do not know them. [laughter]

And because I know the political game, the game of chess, which is political, they blame me left and right. It is not necessary that I should be told: Do this, do that. Those days are gone for me, because I know what is meant by colonialism, I know what is meant by imperialism. I fought, I struggled to be free, to decide what my

people want and what I want. And I don't want somebody to tell me: Wear that suit, it suits you. [laughter] I must choose what suits me, so that I am comfortable. If someone wants to give me a suit which does not give me comfort, how can I move?

So we should know this. Whether we go up and down [changes thought] I tell you, I am speaking, having been in Parliament for 35 years, I have seen a lot. We Kenyans, we [word indistinct] communism since 1965, Kenyans. Now we are being told [word indistinct] government has been opposed in eastern Europe, you also change. I say: To change for what? [laughter] What they mean, which we don't know, this young generation, young politicians, don't understand, is that, because Eastern Europe has been dismantled, they need money. What are we going to do with these blacks in Africa? We must tell them to start multiparty, so that when we reduce the money, we will tell them: We didn't give you, because you didn't start multiparty system. And they will understand.

If they tell me: Mr. Moi, Mr. President, we are not going to give you 100 percent of what we have been giving you, we want to give half of what we have been giving you to Eastern Europe, I would have understood. I would say: Yes, you give them, be sincere. But they tell me things which I know are obvious. So, the solution to Africa's problem is for the blacks not to quarrel on trivial matters. [applause]

There are matters of importance to our people. There is poverty. Poverty is a terrible thing. We will not remove it unless we work hard, unless we are united. But if we allow ourselves during this bad situation, we will not manage. [sentence as heard] So we should do the best we can. I suppose, in the lifetime of our children, they will see more. Africa is endowed with priceless properties and all the things that are needed. What is needed is for us to lay a good foundation for them, so that history will reveal that we were right. We don't want history to say we were wrong. We are not driven, we Kenyans, by hate [words indistinct] because God made us all. I tell my young [word indistinct] other day that, in heaven, there are no VIPs. All are equal in the eyes of God. So, we must exert our (?abilities). We must be honest, we must do the best we can to provide our people what we can provide. God will never abandon us.

With these few remarks I wish this organization success, and I wish his majesty success in this new, difficult task. With our support he will manage. May God bless you all. [applause]

#### Mandela Addresses PTA

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[Speech by Nelson Mandela, African National Congress deputy president, to the Preferential Trade Area summit, held at the Royal Swazi Sun Convention Center, Ezulwini—23 November 1990; live]

[Text] Your Majesty the King, chairman of the PTA [Preferential Trade Area], heads of states and governments, ministers, the general secretary of the PTA, and the chairman of the OAU, distinguished delegates and guests, friends and comrades:

I wish to convey the gratitude of the African National Congress [ANC] for the honor the PTA has extended to us by inviting us to participate at this important summit. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Your Majesty for the warm welcome you have given the [word indistinct] delegation and myself.

It is no exaggeration to say that the manner in which we have been received by Your Majesty, the government and people of Swaziland, has been more than excellent. We have been given the feeling that here we are at home.

At the outset, I would like to stress feelings of satisfaction and happiness, and that I am participating at this conference with my [word indistinct] comrade and friend, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, the new head of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. He and I shared many years of hardship in Robben Island, where he served 10 years. Together, and many other comrades, [as heard] we faced, fought and addressed many problems which brought us together. We were able to change the living conditions of prisoners on Robben Island, precisely because we recognized the crucial value of unity in facing common problems.

His election as head of the PAC has raised a [word indistinct] of confidence and hope that the problems of unity are going to be so much easier, and I go back to my country feeling that his very participation in this conference bodes well for the unity of the liberation movement in our country.

The PTA summit is made crucial by the changes that have taken place in the region, as well as in the entire world. It gives one great pride, as an African, that the leaders of the eastern and southern regions of our continent had the political and economic foresight, as far back as the 1970s, to realize that there is a tendency in the world for countries to move towards the creation of economic blocs. The creation and continued growth of the PTA in our part of the continent is a living testimony to that foresight.

Today, strong economic blocs, especially in the industrialized world, are a reality. One of the [word indistinct] consequences for those of us who are at the periphery of the world economic order, is the drastic altering of the terms of trade between us and the developed world in favor of the latter. These developments in the world economic order have made regional economic cooperation in our part of the continent imperative.

Economic cooperation in our region is not the question today. The question for us is how, and to what extent, will economic cooperation be affected. As we in the ANC have (?slaved) to give flesh to our economic policies, we could not do so without reference to the regional economic situation. In a discussion document on economic

policy, which we have released recently, we have said, and I quote: A future democratic government should actively seek to promote greater regional cooperation along new lines, which would not be [word indistinct] and which will correct imbalances in current relationships. Unquote.

This formulation is indicative of our understanding of the fact that une 'en investment and development does not only have a North-South dimension, but also has a South-South intraregional dimension. We want to state quite categorically that it is our belief and policy that the integration of the South African economy into the regional economy should scrupulously avoid the domination by the South African economy of the regional economy.

We are happy to observe that even those who [word indistinct] relationships with others, in terms of profits, have come to understand that a dominated and depressed regional economy will be bad news for the South African economy. Such a regional economy cannot [word indistinct] absorb South African exports, because it will not be able to generate sufficient foreign exchange with which to pay for such imports.

Our discussion [word indistinct] on economic policies calls for the application of the principle of affirmative action in regional reconstruction of a democratic South Africa. This means that the needs and the interests of some our most disadvantaged neighbors will in the process of negotiation with them be dealt with on a priority basis. With this policy proposal, we hope to address the most glaring instances of economic inequalities with our neighbors.

We are noting with concern that the South African Government and other international financial institutions are attempting to lock as many states in the region as they can into economic arrangements that will ignore and bypass the realities of inequality that are prevalent.

Of even greater concern to us is the fact that if these forces succeed in locking countries into medium- and long-term economic arrangements, they will reduce the possibility of economic rearrangements in the region in the postapartheid period.

We see, therefore, a great and an urgent need for accelerated dialogue between ourselves and member countries of the PTA, which will lead to the development of a new economic contract in the region, for the benefit of us all. It is our intention to initiate such dialogue immediately in order to preempt any attempts by other forces to fossilize present unequal relations.

The dialogue between ourselves and member countries of the PTA is made even more urgent by the increase in trade between apartheid South Africa and a number of African states [words indistinct]. It is our considered view that the potential of the South African economy can be realized for the benefit of the people of South Africa, and the entire region, only after apartheid has been completely removed.

Apartheid will be removed more speedily if all countries in the region, or in the world, maintain sanctions and other pressures against the government of white minority rule. To deviate from that course, just as the oppressed people of South Africa are walking the last mile, will result in a delay in the peace process in South Africa that will have disastrous consequences for all in this region.

It is our view that greater intraregional trade and economic integration, as advocated by regional economic institutions such as the PTA, has serious sociopolitical implications that need to be addressed. The experience of economic integration in Western Europe has shown that the relative uniformity of sociopolitical conditions of the participating countries in an economic community of nations is essential for success.

Sociopolitical issues have great impact on economic integration, should be on the agenda of our discussion. Bilateral and multilateral of regional economic cooperation. [passage as heard]

Let me now tell you of the latest political developments in South Africa. As I have pointed out before in the countries which I have visited, it is absolutely necessary for our friends and allies to be fully addressed of the developments that are taking place in our country. The negotiation process in South Africa, coming as it does, underlines the bitter struggle. We demand that the key negotiators maintain an honest posture towards each other and that they be heard and seen to be doing so in great faith. This will be critical for the success of the peace forces. [15-second break in transmission] President F.W. de Klerk and his negotiating team were men with whom we could resolve the complicated political situation in South Africa. At both Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements were reached between the ANC and the government. We have adhered to the spirit and letter of these agreements in a very difficult situation.

On the one hand, the government is talking to us. On the other hand, they are not adhering to the very agreements we have mutually adopted. For example, the government is conniving to continue the slaughter of our people. They have a strong, efficient, and well-equipped police force and Army. The government has the capacity to put an end to this slaughter in a couple of days. Why is it that they have not used that capacity to put an end to the slaughter? If you ask that question the conclusion will be (?what)? They wanted the slaughter to go on.

Secondly, Mr. de Klerk has tended to give his own interpretation to the Pretoria Minutes on the issue of the suspension of armed struggle, particularly the clause which says the armed action and related activities will be suspended. We maintain the right to peaceful mass protest. When we announced the suspension—not the calling off, but the suspension—of armed struggle with immediate effect, Mr. de Klerk then proposed the setting up of a working group composed of members of the ANC and the government to discuss the question of the status

of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing]. They knew, and we had told them on numerous occasions, that we have arms inside the country, we have trained soldiers inside the country, that we had been infiltrating arms and men from abroad.

We then suggested that this working group should be set up to address all these questions. Before that working group had made its recommendations, Mr. de Klerk called upon all South Africans, including the ANC, to hand over their weapons.

In a statement which the National Executive Committee of the ANC issued on 19 September, we accused Mr. de Klerk of bad faith because he was doing something which he knew very well was improper. The (?pressure) of the government, including de Klerk himself, is one which is aimed at weakening the African National Congress. Their strategy therefore, is to reduce the strength of the ANC to an all time low, and also bring down to an absolute minimum the stature of the ANC leadership. Having achieved this, they hope to start negotiations with a weakened ANC. This, they hope, will mean that the ANC will not be in a position to emerge as the leader of our people in the crucial period of reconstruction. We can see the bad faith on the part of the government by calling upon us long before we have reached a peaceful agreement, [change in thought] an agreement on peace, calling upon us to abandon the call of mass action. It is a ridiculous demand which could be made by people who are not serious about the negotiation process.

There are many examples of communities which have got the vote, which resolves all the basic rights, resolves the (?procedures) in that particular country. We nevertheless have embarked on numerous occasions on mass action on questions like nuclear weapons and so on. The countries of Europe, in the [United] States, in England, in France and Germany have held demonstrations, mass demonstrations. Going to the street when you feel that the government is not addressing the grievances of the people is the right which is recognized all over the democratic world.

Why should the South African Government, a government which has denied us basic human rights, call upon us to abandon mass action? They call upon us precisely because they are not very serious about the whole process of negotiation. And events since 8 October 1990 when we met Mr. de Klerk in Cape Town have cast a serious doubt on Mr. de Klerk's preparedness to see the process through. I am personally finding it increasingly difficult to persuade my colleagues and the country that Mr. de Klerk is a man of integrity. When I was in prison I held talks with him, Ministers Kobie Coetsee and Dr. Gerrit Viljoen. As a result of these talks, I persuaded my colleagues in the National Executive Committee of the ANC that these were men who could be trusted. If the current posture of the government continues I will have difficulty in continuing to do so. Our policies have to be determined by the continuing harsh conditions experienced by the black people in South Africa. We thus regret

that the government does not appreciate that the success of the negotiation process depends on creating an atmosphere of mutual trust. It is lamentable that government action threatens to destroy the trust that we have managed to build so far. Despite all these difficulties the ANC is committed to the peace process in South Africa. We initiated this process with a commitment to see it through and that commitment still stands.

On the 27 November 1990 I will be meeting Mr. de Klerk to try and get the peace process back on the road. I am going to urge him that the time has now come for us to examine the question as to precisely when we should call a constituent assembly to determine how a new constitution should be drawn up. I will discuss with him the question of the establishment of an interim government for the country. We are convinced that the democratic process as recognized by the democratic world means that any organ of negotiations which will determine the set up should be based on the democratic principles of electing that body, an election which should be conducted, in which all South Africans, black and white, should freely participate and this is what we are going to urge as the ANC.

Mr. Chairman, I know very well that you are all concerned about the question of the divisions in the liberation movement in South Africa. And the [word indistinct] as has been indicated by some of the speakers here, by President Museveni, by President arap Moi and to a very elaborate extent by President Kaunda, all these express your concern about this state of affairs. I must assure you that to the African National Congress this is a question of grave concern. We have therefore, since our release from prison, continued as the National Executive of the ANC had done over the years, in stressing the importance of all black political organizations pooling their resources so as to address the questions facing the country, together. We have seen practically every organization in the country, political organization in the country, religious (?organizations) and so on and asked them to join us in uniting the liberation movement in the country. There is not a single organization we have not seen. We have even gone further to call upon men whom we have throughout condemned as sell-outs to rally behind the liberation movement. The four independent bantustans, three of them have accepted this call and are working smoothly with us. We are now discussing with the fourth independent bantustan and from the first meeting there are encouraging signs that it will also follow the lead of the other three.

There are six homeland leaders, that is, bantustans, which are self-governing, which are not independent. We are working very closely with five of them. There is one who does not want to join us. He says he is not a homeland leader. And he says his homeland was there long before the South African Government introduced apartheid. What is strange is that, when he is invited by Mr. de Klerk, together with other homeland leaders, he runs there with cap in hand and attends these meetings. It is only when he is invited by his own flesh and blood

that he suddenly stops being the homeland leader. Nevertheless, we will continue to invite him to our meetings.

... 1 that brings me to the question of violence, which is again a source of great concern to all of us. There is no single organization in South Africa, inside and outside Parliament, which has taken the concrete measures which the ANC has adopted in order to address the question of violence.

We set up what is known as the Joint Working Committee of the ANC and, in fact, the committee has done very good work. We also, in July, appointed a subcommittee of the National Executive of the ANC, consisting of four members, very top members of the ANC. We asked them to join the Joint Working Committee, and to give it muscle.

That subcommittee has done excellent work, which has resulted in agreements being made and signed between the ANC and Inkatha in certain regions. We have even gone further. The National Executive of the ANC has taken the initiative to invite the Central Committee of Inkatha to meet us in order to address the question of this violence.

Chief Buthelezi and myself will also attend that meeting. That meeting has not taken place because, first, I had gone out on tours, and second, he himself was away from the country until the 21st of this month. We propose to have this meeting at the earliest possible convenience. And these are complete steps that we are taking, in order to address the question of violence. There is still violence between the various political organizations, but what we do when we become aware that violence has occurred in a particular area, we approach the organization involved, and together, we go to that area and appeal to our people for peace. We have done this consistently, and this policy is succeeding.

But, of course, a serious turn in the wave of violence has taken place. What is happening in South Africa now is not so much a clash between members of rival political organizations. What is happening is the type of violence which is being deliberately orchestrated by the state itself, the state and its agencies. And in this regard, the National Intelligence Service, the military intelligence, they are in the forefront of the campaign to slaughter our people.

Frankly, shortly, what we are now having in our country is the beginning of a Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement. We must know that it is South Africa that inherited the Renamo movement from the Rhodesians, from Ian Smith. They have been supporting this organization for a long time.

It is true that they entered into an agreement with (our) brothers in Mozambique, but certain elements from South Africa are still supporting Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] even today. Those elements have now decided to expand the area of operations of Renamo into South Africa. What is happening now, we have highly trained death squads [words indistinct] do not

utter a single word, will hack and shoot to death any person they come in contact with. They don't ask the question, are you a member of Inkatha, are you a member of the ANC? They don't ask whether are you Zulu [as heard], are you Xhosa, are you Sotho. They just kill you. They act with lightning speed, never utter a word so that you don't know whether they are South Africans or not and they disappear with the same speed. What is more, their military precision is not confined just to the attack that is being made by one group, (?one show). They will be doing the same thing in different trains, in different areas of the Witwatersrand and they act in exactly, precisely the same manner. And I have asked Mr. de Klerk, who has got a National Intelligence Service, what did they tell you about the source of this conflict, because they are there for that purpose? I have not been able to get a satisfactory answer and the reluctance of the government to suppress the violence tells much more than the government wants us to know.

But as I have said, the African National Congress has the support of the masses of the people in South Africa. We are drawing crowds which has never been seen in the history of our country. We have our friends, we have the Frontline States which have given us enormous support, tremendous support and inspiration. They have actually suffered economically and otherwise because of the support they have consistently given us and you know very well the destabilization and reign of terror which South Africa has conducted in these areas. We have the support of the entire continent under the Organization of African Unity, the support that Africa is giving to the liberation movement on the whole. We have the support of the nonaligned movements, we have the support of the United Nations Organization, we have the support of Europe. We are very strong. We have the support of Asia, of Latin America. There are millions around us and we can say without the fear or any doubt that the day for which we have sacrificed so much is just around the corner. All that you need to do is to maintain sanctions and to give us your support. We are confident that (?evil) in South Africa can never survive and we are here, not only to participate in the proceedings of the PTA, we are here to thank you all for the marvelous support that you have given us.

Had it not been for that support I should not have been here today. Had it not been for the support we as the people of South Africa would not be travelling the last mile in our journey for freedom.

#### PAC V.P. Comments

MB241110390 Mbabane Television Service  
in English 0711 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Address by PAC Vice President Mlamuli Makwetu to the Preferential Trade Area summit at the Royal Swazi Sun Convention Center in the Ezulwini Valley, Swaziland—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Your Majesty [Swazi King Mswati III], the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] notes with appreciation the PTA [Preferential Trade Area] activities in the field of agriculture where priority is given to food production in the form of growing, processing, and in certain other important activities.

Your Majesty, it is not only the question of food production as such, it is the question of the land itself, and this is the cornerstone of the PAC political policy in the liberation struggle in our country. The imperialists and the settler colonialists, after conquest in the last century, deprived the African people of almost the entire land in the country of their birth.

Today well over 30 million Africans occupy only 13 percent of the land surface, while only about 5 million white minority settlers own 87 percent of the land surface. Actually, it is not correct to say that Africans in Azania [South Africa] occupy 13 percent; they occupy far less than that.

In (1936), under the so-called Hertzog Bills, the white settlers decided that no less than 7 million hectares of land had to be bought from white farmers to add to whatever they had to make up the 13 percent. But up to this very moment, 2 million hectares which was bought from the white farmers is still in the hands of the whites in South Africa, which means it is not correct to say that we occupy 13 percent of the land.

Your Excellency, I am bringing this forward to show the type of people we have to contend with in South Africa. In other words, when you deal with de Klerk, you must be very cautious. You don't have to take what he said as conclusive.

I may go further to say in 1960 (Phillip Hosana) led more than 30,000 people into Cape Town. When they arrived at Caledon Square, he was confronted by Colonel Terreblanche, who was the head of the police in the western Cape at the time. Confronted by this situation, Terreblanche advised (Hosana) to disperse the crowd and promised him that at 6 P.M. he would arrange for a meeting between (Hosana) and the minister of justice, who was Erasmus at the time.

(Hosana) honored the arrangement. With a few colleagues they went to meet Erasmus. But instead of meeting Erasmus, the next thing he found himself in was a dark cell in [word indistinct] jail. This is the type of situation we have to contend with at home.

It can be seen that this state of affairs is disastrous to the African people, not only agriculturally, but also environmentally, because it destroys even the small portion of the land they occupy, and this in turn adversely influences habitation in the entire land surface of the country.

The PTA's professional and technological know-how will be an extremely important contribution in the rehabilitation of the land for the benefit of the improvement of the quality of life of the African people in a post-apartheid South Africa.

At this very moment there are talks going on in our country, and before these talks took place we were told in no uncertain terms that according to the Harare Declaration, to which we were no party—I want to put this case clearly—in spite of the fact that we were no party, we decided never to interfere with the Harare Declaration. And also according to the United Nations consensus document, it was stated in no uncertain terms that no talks will be held in our country unless all political prisoners and all exiles are returned home. But all of a sudden talks took place, and we had no quarrel with this, but we thought that these two documents which were observed worldwide would be honored by De Klerk. A small sprinkle of prisoners were let out of jail, similarly with exiles.

When Zeph Mothopeng died, we of PAC decided to test the regime. We applied for a few of our members who are in exile to attend the funeral. Initially we were told there would be no problems, but because of bureaucracy and red tape there was a delay until the day of the funeral. Right. Then we insisted that seeing that we are going to hold a conference next week, or week after next, these people should be allowed to attend this conference. To our surprise, we were told that their applications were turned down. So these are the type of people we have to deal with. In other words, when you talk about South Africa you have to go kahle [slow], in my language.

Your Majesty, since PTA is essentially an economic organization, it is necessary for PAC to briefly outline its own economic perspective for the future. In specific terms, the PAC believes in the socialization of the economy, but we will not socialize for the sake of socialization. We will face the realities and act according to concrete conditions at all times.

However, in a country where the commanding [word indistinct] of the economy are concentrated in the hands of the seven giant corporations—the seven giant corporations we are talking about are Anglo-American, Anglo-Vaal, Old Mutual, Sanlam, Rembrandt, Liberty Life, not necessarily in that order [number of corporations as heard], which control 80 percent of all the companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange—we need to redistribute the wealth so that the quality of life of the dispossessed, oppressed, and exploited majority of the people is improved. It's absolutely compelling.

There have to be massive human resources development programs devoted to training in all fields of sciences, technology, and management systems. South Africans must be qualified in all fields in order to create an economically viable postapartheid state.

Your Majesty, I have mentioned in this statement the term postapartheid South Africa. Presumably attempts are being made to create it, but what form will it take?

Insofar as PAC is concerned, a postapartheid South Africa must be a nonracial society where the democratic principle of one man, one vote in a unitary state applies, and [word indistinct] economically for the policy guaranteeing the most equitable distribution of wealth.

Consequently, the PAC is advocating for the creation of a constituent assembly which must be democratically elected and which will then choose delegates who will come up with a constitution for a postapartheid South Africa. There can be no conditions on this position. To do so would be to perpetuate apartheid in disguise. In other words, we guarantee no minority rights, because we think in terms of individuals and not groups.

During the course of the past month, the PAC has been invited by the white minority racist regime to participate in preparatory talks leading to negotiations for a new political dispensation for our country. The PAC informed the regime that a definitive reply would be forthcoming after the PAC national conference which is due the first week of next month.

Your Majesty, the level of internecine violence taking place in our country is completely unacceptable. The PAC is on record as having strongly condemned such violence. We have pleaded with the parties concerned to enter into discussions for a peaceful resolution of any dispute among them. We have for many years advocated for the formation of a united front among all those who are fighting for a common cause against a common enemy. We have always said that it is unwise to ignore the existing organizations, and even to go so far as to attempt to eliminate them by use of force because of political differences. In any event, they are there and they cannot be wished away.

We are convinced more than ever before, Your Excellency, that a united front is absolutely essential for all political organizations, including the bantustans which are struggling for the abolition of racism in our country, and the PAC stands ready to cooperate fully in this regard.

Yesterday Comrade Mandela made a significant statement here, saying that we spent 10 years together on Robben Island, and we fought battles together. It is true. During that period I used to be the first man to see him in the morning, and I used to be the last man to see him in the evening, because our cells were directly opposite each other. We fought battles together successfully, and during that period there was no question of PAC and ANC [African National Congress]. We were Africans, we were prisoners confronted by a common enemy.

This took place because we needed each other, because you don't bring about unity simply because you desire it; you need it in order for unity to come about.

We are in the same boat at this very moment. We still need each other, and therefore I promise this house that the statement he made yesterday will be carried out in our country. We will strive by all means to bring the various groups together [applause] so that we confront the enemy in one voice.

Fortunately, both the ANC and PAC, including Azanian People's Organization [Azapo], are clamoring for a constituent assembly. If these three major groupings can come together and bring the other groups and confront de Klerk on this issue, then everybody will know exactly where De Klerk stands.

Your Majesty, the carnage taking place among our people is the direct result of the abominable system of apartheid, which has been entrenched through a series of oppressive legislation for nearly half a century.

The PAC will continue to wage the struggle against the white minority settler regime, using all forms of struggle, including the consolidation of unity of all the oppressed, the encouragement of mass mobilization, and mass actions, the continued isolation of racist South Africa through the imposition of economic sanctions, and finally the waging of armed struggle itself.

Our people are not deceived by the so-called willingness of the white minority South African regime to abandon apartheid. The regime must be relentlessly harassed. The slogan, and this is a PAC slogan—Peace Among The Africans, and War Against The Enemy—is very much appropriate today.

Internationally the sanctions campaign must be intensified more than ever before. To relax it now would be to betray the struggling people of our country. I thank you, Your Excellency.

\* Interpol Expands Antidrug Operations

91AF0207A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French  
15 Oct 90 p 8

[Article by Harish Chundunsiing: "Modernization of the Police Telecommunications Network in Africa"; italicized passages published in English]

[Text] At the 59th general assembly of the international organization of criminal police, (Interpol) held the beginning of this month in Ottawa, Canada, representatives of

the 154 member countries decided this organization would invest around 8 million rupees to modernize the police telecommunications network in Africa.

At this conference the Mauritian police was represented by Goorooduth Buramdayal, deputy to the [police] commissioner.

While the drug traffic dominated the discussions, as at previous general assemblies, economic and financial crimes, as well as traffic in art works, also occupied the attention of the approximately 500 delegates.

Thus, Interpol recommended increased use of audits and examiners to combat financial crimes effectively. "Member states should be encouraged to explore ways to bring accounting and auditing assistance into their police investigation and prosecutive activities," the police organization decided.

Concerning theft of art works, Interpol asked member states to take steps to protect their cultural patrimonies by using photographic and descriptive inventories.

Concerning drug traffic, Interpol entrusted its secretary general with the task of preparing a global police plan through intensive gathering of information and facts. Interpol also turned its attention to measures for combating the laundering of narcodollars.

Furthermore, delegates approved establishing a regional telecommunications station for the South Pacific at Canberra, Australia. The Japanese Government will provide the necessary equipment.

It should be noted that the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Marshall Islands joined Interpol, which now has 154 members.

M. Yvan Barbot, a French man, is president of this police organization. The general secretary, M. Raymond Kendall, British, was retained in his position for a five-year term.

**Central African Republic****Foreign Minister Gives Brief on 'Social Tension'**

*AB2411211690 Bangui Domestic Service in French  
1800 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Excerpts of Foreign Minister Laurent Gomina-Pampali address during his meeting with "all foreign diplomats" serving in Bangui to explain the "recent social tension, especially in the capital"; on 24 November—recorded]

[Excerpts] Your Excellencies, ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions, and representatives of international organizations: While I may have had the opportunity to meet with you on various occasions since I assumed duty as the minister of foreign affairs, today is the first time that I have the honor to meet with you all together in this brief manner. You will agree with me that there is nothing surprising about this, since we need to meet periodically to exchange ideas and information, which are necessary for us in order to understand events. This understanding is necessary for improving our bonds of friendship and cooperation. Today, it is not my intention to lecture you on the international political situation, which you know as well as I do, but rather, I would like to ask you, in your capacities as well-informed observers, to review with me the sequence of the social events that we have witnessed over the past few weeks and which we are still witnessing in our country. My briefing will comprise two parts. The first part covers the period of negotiations, which ended on Saturday, 17 November, while the other covers the period beginning Monday, 19 November, up until today.

Concerning the first part, my briefing will be quite short, because apart from your personal sources of information, you have all received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a verbal note transmitting to you the pertinent documents concerning all developments and the outcome of the negotiations held between the government and the Central African Workers' Union [USTC]. In all these documents, it is clearly evident that these negotiations, held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding in accordance with the spirit of dialogue advocated by the head of state, yielded results that were accepted by the two sides. At least the final declarations made by the two sides sufficiently demonstrated that both sides were satisfied.

That is why I am convinced that, like us, you did not fail to express your surprise at the new call for a general strike made by the USTC and signed by its general secretary—this very person who on Saturday, 17 November, applauded the success of the negotiations, especially thanking the head of state for having, and I quote, given the directives for holding these consultations to solve within the shortest possible time the problems which have lasted for more than six months, unquote. [passage omitted]

Also, in this second part of my briefing, I would like to stress my surprise at the current behavior of the USTC—

a behavior marked by a refusal to abide by the results achieved on 17 November. There has been a resurgence and toughening of the demands, an obstruction of the freedom to work, and threats of physical abuse by the workers. According to the information it has received, the government might be correct to believe that this new position is allegedly inspired and engineered from abroad, and no longer for only trade unionist reasons, but rather for political reasons. For our part, we refuse to accept that any of the friendly countries represented here can, in one way or another, try to interfere in the internal affairs of our country—not even for trade union reasons, so much more for political reasons. This is why I find this meeting very important. However, it will only be useful if it is able to convince you of the need to double your efforts at friendly and constructive cooperation by the side of the Government of the Central African Republic. I thank you. [applause]

**Chad****Minister Says Libya Breaks Off Aozou Talks**

*AB2411173690 Paris AFP in English 1704 GMT  
24 Nov 90*

[Excerpt] Ndjamen, Nov 24 (AFP)—Libya has "unilaterally" broken off talks on a territorial dispute with Chad and "is seeking to promote a military solution," Chad's Information Minister Adoum Moussa Seif charged here Saturday.

Tripoli did not send a delegation to talks on the Aozou Strip territorial dispute here on Friday because Ndjamen had accused Libya of playing a part in recent fighting in eastern Chad, the minister added. He also denied a claim that rebels led by former Chadian army chief Idriss Deby had on Wednesday captured Goz-Beida, a town in eastern Chad 70 kilometres (44 miles) from the border with Sudan. Mr Deby's Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) reported the capture of the town in a statement given to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in Paris. [passage omitted]

**Conflict With Libya Said in 'Decisive Phase'**

*AB2511111290 Ndjamen Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Text] From 23 to 26 November 1990, the second meeting of the foreign ministers of Chad and Libya was to be held here in Ndjamen in line with the heads of state's commitments made during the Rabat summit. The first meeting had been held at the end of October in Tripoli. It has just been learned that this meeting will not take place. The Libyans have unilaterally decided to suspend the negotiations, a decision which goes against the commitments made in Rabat by Presidents Hissein Habre and al-Qadhafi and which is contrary to the spirit of the Algiers Accord on the texts and principles of the OAU. In turn, Libya bears the responsibility for

abandoning the search for a peaceful solution, a decision that forebodes heavy consequences, as Desegbe Kerenga Ngobb explains:

[Begin Ngobb recording] What must be noted is the unilateral nature of this decision. The meeting of foreign ministers of Libya and Chad is one of the major commitments made at the Rabat summit by Presidents Hissein Habre and al-Qadhdhafi. It was decided to make possible direct negotiations which had been going on until now within the Chad-Libya Joint Commission created by the Algiers Accord. This has been pursued, and the issue has been taken to the International Court of Justice. Any decision to the contrary should have been subjected to consultations between the parties. The Libyans should not act this way. They have unilaterally decided to suspend the dialogue while Chad has been preparing to host the second foreign ministers' meeting.

This decision is contrary to the commitments made in Rabat, in the presence of King Hassan II, by the Libyan and Chadian heads of state. It is also contrary to the spirit of the Algiers Accord and the texts and principles of the OAU which give preference to a negotiated solution. In permitting itself to unilaterally renounce the commitments made in Rabat at such a high level, Libya has not brought in anything new, apart from the fact that it has merely confirmed what was known already—that is, its preference for a military solution. This preference for a military answer has notably been manifested in its flagrant implication in the painful events in the east of our country.

Not only has Libya been heavily arming the Islamic Legion it has launched against our country since 10 November, but it provides a regular and intense supply of mercenaries. Shortly before the violation of the ceasefire established between the countries on 11 September 1987, Libya had established an aerial bridge between Sebah, Kufra, and Darfur. Further proof of its implication in the fresh aggression against our country, the civilian hospitals of Sebah and Kufra have been transformed into garrisons ready to receive the wounded of the Islamic Legion.

By opposing the desire that Chad has so often reaffirmed for a political solution with its preference for a military solution, Libya is embarking on a path with heavy consequences in terms of the destruction of human lives and socioeconomic structures. The Chad-Libya conflict has just entered a decisive phase. No matter what their social stratum, all Chadians must take note of this. [end recording]

#### **France Asked To Aid Chad Against 'Aggression'**

*AB2511221690 Ndjamenia Domestic Service  
in French 1900 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Excerpts] The new aggression carried out by the Libya-Sudan coalition in the east of our country has been vigorously condemned by war veterans, war victims, and Chadians widowed in the defense of the French cause.

The condemnation took place this morning during a march organized by the National Fraternal Union of War Veterans of the French Armies in Chad. The war veterans marched from the Independence Square to the French Chancellery, where they addressed a memorandum to the French Government. The memorandum was read by Colonel Sole Diaby:

[Begin Diaby recording] A memorandum from the war veterans and war victims of Chad and presented to the French ambassador to the Republic of Chad:

Considering the repeated aggressions by the Libya-Sudan coalition executed by the Islamic Legion against our dear country; considering the shameful complicity of some Western press agencies, notably Radio France International, which has exhibited a tendency of giving credit to the Libyan thesis, which makes mention of a so-called internal conflict; considering the technical cooperation and military agreements signed between the Government of the Republic of France and the Government of the Third Republic of Chad; considering the fact that at the call of General de Gaulle in 1940, we, the sons of Chad, spontaneously responded yes for the freeing of France, which was under occupation; in view of the historic bonds binding Chad and France together throughout the big military tragedy; taking into account France's current hesitation to react promptly to the demands of our country, which is dangerously threatened by expansionist forces, we—war veterans, war victims, and Chadians widowed and orphaned in defense of the French cause—having met today, 24 November 1990, at the French chancellery in Ndjamenia, vigorously condemn the naked and barbarous aggression by expansionist Libya through its Islamic Legion; (?condemn) the acts of complicity by some Western press agencies who continue to sow seeds of doubt in the minds of people, especially in international opinion, by deforming the real nature of the Chad-Libya conflict; urge the French Government to assume its full historic responsibility before Chad; express our most ardent wish that France should further increase its material assistance to Chad in order to withstand al-Qadhdhafi's expansionist intentions; exhort the French Government to inform its Western counterparts and some French news agencies of the real nature of the conflict between our country and Libya. [words indistinct] Issued in Ndjamenia on 24 November 1990 by war veterans, war victims, widows, and orphans of Chad. [end recording]

The memorandum was later presented to the charge d'affaires at the French Embassy in Chad. [passage omitted]

Today, Chad is facing a new aggression perpetrated by a neighboring country, Libya, with the complicity of Sudan. This is therefore the moment for France to express its gratefulness to our country which [words indistinct]. This is what the war veterans expressed in their memorandum. They reminded France of the first-class role that it has to play in order to help Chad, and, in fact, help Chad put an end to this aggression.

**Idriss Deby's Rebels Claim Habre Forced to Flee**

*LD2611103190 Paris International Service  
in French 0630 GMT 26 Nov 90*

[Text] We are perhaps on the eve of a decisive battle in eastern Chad: in fact, a vast counter offensive by the Chadian Army is expected within the next 48 hours against the rebels of Idriss Deby, a counter offensive which would be led by President Habre in person. Hissene Habre has in fact left N'djamena to go to the battle front. [passage indistinct]

The rebel movement of Idriss Deby asserts that yesterday, Sunday morning 8,500 government soldiers were routed after having attempted to attack the locality of Iriba. More than 1,200 of them are reported to have died and more than 3,000 are reported to have rallied to the rebellion, including 30 senior officers. Idriss Deby's movement adds that a large quantity of equipment was captured, in particular two presidential vehicles containing papers of the presidency, as well as armored cars and tanks, and according to the movement Hissene Habre had to flee virtually on foot, and the rebel fighters are currently combing the region to capture him.

**Rwanda****Army Claims 150 Rebels Killed in Kivuye Commune**

*EA2511205090 Kigali Domestic Service in French  
1115 GMT 25 Nov 90*

[Text] The Rwandan Armed Forces have once again scored a victory in the Kivuye commune. Fighting which the assailants started in the region has just ended with the defeat of the enemy. As I said in the headlines, 150 rebels were killed while the remnants were scattered. Florence Kampayana reports from Byumba:

[Begin Kampayana recording] The Rwandan Armed Forces continue to defeat the attacks of the Inyenzi [rebels] launched from Ugandan territory. You will recall that at the beginning of the week, the outlaws

attempted to attack our country through Kivuye commune. But they clashed with our Armed Forces, who inflicted on them a heavy defeat as unforgettable as that of Mutara and others. More than 150 assailants lost their lives in Kivuye commune.

During the night of 20 November in the Kivuye sector, our army killed 45 assailants, including one sub-lieutenant called (John Nyirabatwali). In Bungwe and Bushenya sectors, more than 15 rebels were killed.

Yesterday was a tragic day for the assailants, as they lost 60 combatants at the (Buhita) shopping center, which had been in the hands of the bandits since the beginning of the week, and lost twelve others in the Bushenya sector. The number of dead, however, could easily be higher as not all corners have been checked and the assailants are believed to be craftily burying their dead or taking them back to Uganda, the country from which all the attacks originate. Our Armed Forces were also able to capture a significant quantity of arms and ammunitions. The Inyenzi, who have realized that the war they started will cost them a lot, have now turned against the civilian population. The places they pass through are subjected to theft, rape, and they do not even stop at shooting innocent peasants. [end recording]

[Kigali Domestic Service in Kinyarwanda at 1700 GMT on 25 November, in an otherwise similar item, reports the following: "Apart from the rebels who were killed, our forces have captured a large quantity of arms, as every attacking rebel is armed. They have also captured powerful land mines. As the rebels realized that they could not win the war and had run out of tricks, some resorted to pulling off their clothes and going about naked in order to trick the people into believing the rebels had stripped them of their clothes. They are now killing Rwandan and even Ugandan citizens so that they can say that our soldiers killed them across the border.

[The people of Kivuye, who had fled from the enemies of Rwanda in great numbers, have now returned to their homes, where they are helping our soldiers fight the enemy. They have taken up arms and fought the enemy to the extent that five rebels have been killed by people using spears and arrows."]

Djibouti

**Ten Cabinet Portfolios Reshuffled 25 November**

EA2511220490 Djibouti Domestic Service  
in Somali 1700 GMT 25 Nov 90

[Text] The cabinet members of the Republic of Djibouti were reshuffled today. The cabinet, which comprises 16 members, has been joined by a new minister, Mr. Ibrahim Idriss Mohamed, who becomes the minister of public works, construction, and housing. Ten of the cabinet members have been reshuffled.

Mr. Ougoure Hassan Ibrahim, the former minister of health, has been appointed minister of justice and religious affairs.

Mr. Ismail Ali Youssouf, the former minister of civil service and administrative reform, becomes minister of national defense.

Moussa Bourale Roble, the former minister of trade, becomes minister of finance and national economy.

Mr. Ahmed Aden Youssouf, the former minister of public works, becomes minister of port and maritime affairs. He replaces (Burhan Ali Warki), who died in September 1989, may God's peace be upon him.

Ahmed Ibrahim Abdi, the former minister of labor, becomes minister of trade, transport, and tourism in the new government.

Mr. Omar Chirdon Abbas, the former minister of sports, youth and culture, becomes minister of education in the new government.

Mr. Mohamed Djama Elabe, the former minister of finance, will from now on lead the ministry of health.

Mr. Elaf Orbis Ali, the former minister of justice and religious affairs, gets the Labor portfolio.

Mr. Souleiman Farah Lodon, the former minister of education, becomes minister of civil service and administrative reform.

Mr. Houssein Barkat Siradj, the former minister of defense, becomes minister of sports, youth, and culture.

Five members of the cabinet have not undergone any reshuffle, including Mr. Barkat Gourad Hamadou, the prime minister of the Republic of Djibouti. The others who continue to occupy their portfolios are as follows: Mr. Moumin Bahdon Farah—minister of foreign affairs and cooperation; Mr. Khaireh Allaleh Hared—minister of interior, posts, and telecommunications; Mr. Salem Abdo Yahya—minister of industry; and Mr. Mohamed Moussa Chehem—minister of agriculture and rural development.

Kenya

**Paper Says Uganda Training Expatriates To Invade**

EA2511123290 Nairobi SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 25 Nov 90 p 1

[Article by Philip Ochieng: "Uganda Drilling Kenyan Rebels"]

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) is training 200 Kenyans to invade this country, a reliable source in his own government told the "SUNDAY TIMES" by facsimile yesterday. The drill—taking place in the famous Luwero Triangle, just north of Kampala—is part of a general plot by the Ugandan leader to extend his personal sway throughout the Great Lakes region, the source said.

The first phase, he said, was the invasion of Rwanda in October in an attempt to install in Kigali a government composed mainly of his own relatives owing full allegiance to him. Had that part of the general scheme been successful, the source said, the soldiers—led by generals from the NRA itself—would as their second phase have crossed over into Burundi to overrun Bujumbura.

It is reported that former Burundian President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza—who is said to have forged deep military links with Libya since his overthrow several years ago—was already in Kampala, ready to resume power as a vassal of President Museveni's. Mr. Bagaza and his entourage were still in the Ugandan capital by last night, the source told me, adding that the embattled invaders had merely gone into a tactical retreat, for reinforcement and better logistics, and would soon perpetrate another invasion of Rwanda, followed by an attempt to reinstate Mr. Bagaza in Bujumbura.

The third phase, the source said, would be to turn attention to Kenya, using the Kenyans being trained by the NRA as the vanguard, under the pretext that they are refugees invading their own country of their own volition.

This was the pretext used during the invasion of Rwanda, when the Ugandan propaganda media claimed that the invaders were mere deserters of the NRA, who had attacked their home without prompting from anybody in Kampala.

A highly-powered Kenyan Government source, contacted for comment, said Uganda's designs over Kenya were already well known because President Moi himself had spoken publicly about them, giving the empirical evidence of frequent NRA forays into Kenyan territory. [passage omitted]

## Somalia

### Rebel Communique on Cooperating Against Regime

*EA2511094290 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Text] The liberation rebel groups which are waging an armed struggle against the oppressive system of Mohamed Siad Barre have issued a joint communique. The three major rebel groups—the Somali National Movement [SNM], the United Somali Congress [USC], and the Somali Patriotic Movement [SPM]—which are waging an armed struggle against Mohamed Siad Barre, have realized the need for unity in pursuing a total armed struggle against the regime, and therefore, have issued this communique.

The highest organs of the three rebel groups, who are the leading figures in uniting the groups, attach great importance to the need for unity to save Somalis from oppression and from the socioeconomic problems. They agreed on the nature of the Siad Barre regime, whose staying power depends on the intensity of freedom fighters, and they agreed to unite under one umbrella to form a unified committee drawn from the three groups—USC, SNM, and SPM.

The committee members are entrusted with implementing a review and coordinating the resolutions of the highest organs of the three rebel groups to achieve a totally unified voice on military, political, social, and economic affairs. The unified committee of the three groups was assigned to present reports to [words indistinct] and the central committee within 60 days for a decision to be made concerning the reports.

The SNM, USC, and SPM genuinely [words indistinct] treacherous tricks of Siad Barre's regime, such as his plan to hold talks with the opposition forces, holding false elections, and the so-called referendum. The three groups in unison made a clear stand not to (?associate) with the matters of [word indistinct] the Somali people and misleading international opinion. For that reason the three groups have jointly agreed that any peace talks with the regime [words indistinct] any person designated by this regime could not represent the Somali people, and the three rebel groups will under no circumstances accept any such thing.

## Uganda

### UPDM Chariman on Finding National Peace

*EA2411130090 Kampala Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 23 Nov 90*

[Text] The people of Gulu have resolved to work for the unity of Uganda and vowed to stop the war and other

acts of lawlessness which have been rampant in the district since the rebel war broke out on 20 August 1986. The resolution was taken at a rally addressed by the chairman of the Uganda People's Democratic Movement, UPDM, and former prime minister, Mr. Eric Otema Allimadi, who returned from exile recently.

In his address, Mr. Eric Otema Allimadi declared that he had returned home for good in the quest for lasting peace in the Acholi land in particular and Uganda as a whole. He rebuked those who alleged that he was looking for a job. "I was worried about you here and those still in the bush, and that is why I am here" he declared.

The UPDM leader called on all those who profess loyalty to the movement and are still in the bush to come out at this opportune time. He also urged parents whose sons and daughters are still in the bush to call them back and join hands with others in developmental programs. He assured those in the bush that nothing would happen to them if they came out as nothing has happened to him, because the government amnesty and the presidential pardon are genuine.

Mr. Otema Allimadi said people have lost lives and property during the war and urged them to reject war in the [word indistinct]. He cautioned the people against tribal or any other groupings. He called for a spirit of cooperation and unity among the different tribes because, he said, any single tribe like the Acholi can achieve nothing on its own.

The UPDM leader reiterated that he had been advocating for dialogue since 1987 to resolve the conflict between the rebels and the government, and advised that in any conflict, dialogue, negotiation, and discussion should be used instead of resorting to force and war.

The minister of state in the Prime Minister's Office resident in Gulu, Mrs. Betty Bigombe, told the rally that Mr. Eric Otema Allimadi and his group, as children of the district and citizens of Uganda, are welcome back home, and appealed to the people to work with them to restore total peace in the district and the country as a whole. The resident minister assured the UPDM leader that the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government [words indistinct] means possible to restore peace.

Mrs. Bigombe hoped that Mr. Eric Otema Allimadi's return to join hands with the government will have an impact on the quest for peace. She asked Mr. Otema Allimadi to approach Owiny [executive of the UPDM in London] and others to return home. The resident minister declared that the government is committed to rehabilitating all district infrastructures throughout the country.

**De Klerk Threatens To Break Transkei Ties, Aid**  
*MB2411063690 Johannesburg Television Service  
 in English 0600 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Text] The South African Government has told Transkei that it can face serious financial problems if military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa continues to hurl false accusations at South Africa.

This message was conveyed by Foreign Affairs Deputy Director General Rusty Evans to the Transkei leadership at a meeting with a South African delegation in Umtata yesterday.

In the message State President F.W. de Klerk also threatened to withdraw South Africa's recognition of the military government and even break diplomatic ties with Transkei. The country's president, Mr. Tudor Ndamase, is due to fly to Pretoria for a meeting with Mr. de Klerk to discuss the row over the attempted coup d'etat.

In his latest attack Gen. Holomisa has called for the resignation of Foreign Minister Pik Botha. In his reaction Mr. Botha said it wasn't for the Transkei leader to demand his resignation.

**Holomisa Reacts**

*MB2511200090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
 1938 GMT 25 Nov 90*

[Text] East London Nov 25 SAPA—Transkei's military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, on Sunday still maintained that South Africa was used as a springboard for Thursday's abortive coup attempt in Umtata.

He was responding to reports that President F.W. de Klerk, had threatened to sever diplomatic and financial ties with Transkei should Gen. Holomisa continue to falsely accuse South Africa over the coup attempt.

A spokesman for Mr. de Klerk's office in Pretoria, Mr. Casper Venter, said he could not confirm the warning, but explicitly referred to newspaper reports in which the deputy director-general of foreign affairs, Mr. Rusty Evans, was quoted as saying such a message had been conveyed to Gen. Holomisa.

Gen. Holomisa confirmed that the message had been delivered on Friday to the office of Transkei President Tudor Ndamase, and said a meeting between the two country's presidents had been proposed. He said the military government was still waiting to hear from the president's office about the response of the Transkei Government to the message.

"In our capacity as the military government, we have no objection to the proposed meeting and we will equip the Transkei state president with every detail, mapping out all the circumstances which led to the abortive coup," Gen. Holomisa said.

"Among these will be extradition documents which were filed long ago with the South African Department of

Foreign Affairs and also written diplomatic notes regarding the use of South Africa as a springboard or a launching pad to attack Transkei."

He said he was happy President Ndamase would meet Mr. de Klerk face-to-face to put the record straight about the situation. "Transkei is not going to beg anybody. We'll just put facts on the table and those facts will have to be discussed," Gen. Holomisa said. Gen. Holomisa said South Africa still had "a lot of explaining to do."

He said three of the rebels who were killed with Colonel Craig Duli during the attempted coup had been identified as being among those detained with Col. Duli, Boetie Davis and Vulindlela Mbotoli in April near Queenstown. Duli, Davis and Mbotoli were later convicted of illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, but the South African Government had never said whether the other three men had been tried in a court of law or released from detention, Gen. Holomisa said.

He said the South African Government, therefore, should explain how the three men, believed by Transkei to be in detention in Queenstown, ended up being killed in the abortive coup in Umtata. He said the three men were identified as being from Lesotho and South Africa.

"From this information, one can draw a lot of inferences about South Africa being used as a springboard to attack Transkei," Gen. Holomisa said. Mr. de Klerk is also reported to have threatened to withdraw South Africa's recognition of the Transkei military government.

**Ndamase Accepts Invitation**

*MB2611151090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
 1453 GMT 26 Nov 90*

[Text] Umtata Nov 26 SAPA—Transkei President Tudor Ndamase has accepted an invitation by SA President F.W. de Klerk to "visit South Africa on a date still to be mutually agreed upon," a statement issued by the Transkei Military Council in Umtata said on Monday [26 Nov].

The full statement said; "At a joint sitting of the president-in-council, (president, Military Council and Council of Ministers) it was decided to inform the general public of Transkei that His Excellency President T.N. Ndamase has accepted the invitation extended to him by State President F.W. de Klerk to visit South Africa on a date still to be mutually agreed upon. It has been decided that the formal letter of acceptance of the invitation will be delivered by the honourable minister of foreign affairs and information, Mr T.E. Katshunungwa."

A spokesman for State President F.W. de Klerk earlier on Monday said he was unaware of any meeting pending between Mr de Klerk and his Transkeian counterpart this week to discuss deteriorating relations between the independent homeland and South Africa. "We are not aware of such a meeting and cannot therefore confirm it will take place," said the spokesman.

According to the Transkeian statement, President Ndamase had also agreed, in response to requests from various church leaders, to hold a thanksgiving service for the "successful repelling of the attempted coup of the 22nd of November" at the Independence Stadium in Umtata at 2PM on Wednesday November 28.

### Foreign Minister Botha on Foreign Policy Openings

AU2311055090 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE  
in German 22 Nov 90 pp 20-21

[Interview with Foreign Minister Roelof Botha by Lucian O. Meysels in Pretoria; date not given: "The Sanctions Are Falling"]

[Text] [Meysels] President Willem de Klerk and you have been travelling a lot recently. Have these travels been politically productive? It seems to me that the president was somewhat disappointed.

[Botha] The president has visited 25 countries. In his talks with foreign chiefs of state this year, he tried to give them an idea of South Africa and its problems. They all accept that we are in step with the rest of the world. In addition, they wish us success in our aspirations. The African leaders, too, have recognized that South Africa can play a leading role on this continent and generally in the world. So our rapprochement with the rest of the world has been really profitable. Instead of meeting with skepticism and criticism, we are now being encouraged.

[Meysels] You personally have tried to explain South Africa's new position especially in Europe. To what extent have you been successful?

[Botha] We planned our trips very carefully. Every visit was made immediately following important events in our country. The president was not only able to sell an excellent product; he was even the best salesman. He made an excellent impression on all his partners in the talks. He believes in himself and in the cause that he represents. An American said: "De Klerk is authentic." South Africa can now hold its head high, and we are feeling the good will shown to us.

[Meysels] To what extent were you able to break through the frontline of sanctions?

[Botha] In our efforts to find an acceptable constitution for the new South Africa, we are increasingly aware that the country's future largely depends on its economic growth. Political parties intending to weaken South Africa economically, should consider three factors—the explosion of the population, increasing unemployment, and the escalating expectations of the underprivileged. The EC has approved of South Africa's reform course without saying so formally. South Africa has become a respected country.

[Meysels] Nonetheless, you were often put off with friendly words. Could the fact that no specific pledges were made strengthen the white opposition in the country?

[Botha] There were not just nice words. De Klerk's travels were a big success. In its report on the policy of sanctions to the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Administration has specifically paid tribute to the change in South Africa. Following his meeting with us, President Bush described the reform process as irreversible. The report left no doubt about the fact that the U.S. Administration supports President De Klerk's efforts, and generally paints an optimistic picture.

[Meysels] As compared to that, the European position must disappoint you.

[Botha] President De Klerk did not even ask the Europeans to lift the sanctions. In practice, the sanctions are already collapsing, and soon, they won't be a problem anymore. The EC, too, has recognized the changes in South Africa and paid tribute to our initiatives. The EC has stressed that South Africa has solved its problems by peaceful means. We are also trying to find the way to a just and democratic society to satisfy the justified expectations of the majority of the people. This is the only way for us to establish a stable form of society.

[Meysels] A big South African concern is obviously planning to make major investments in Austria. Is this project intended to evade sanctions by other means?

[Botha] South African investments abroad certainly play an important part. The planned investments of the Mondi concern (in the Neusiedel paper factory—editorial board), to which you are referring, clearly prove that South Africa and South African firms have something to offer internationally.

[Meysels] Has the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe decreased international pressure on South Africa?

[Botha] The decay of communist rule undoubtedly has reduced tensions in Europe. The Central European governments are now in a position to organize their foreign policy independent of Moscow. Regarding South Africa, these countries' position has become more realistic—both at the bilateral and at the multilateral levels. Instead of ideologies, we are now meeting with a more practical attitude, and that has allowed us to get closer to these countries. That has also reduced our isolation. However, I must stress again that it was President De Klerk's policy which allowed the Central European countries to see South Africa in a more favorable light. You should not forget that the Eastern European countries automatically supported every interference of the Soviet Union in regional conflicts. In many cases, they were at the front when the task was to support revolutionary movements throughout the world technically and with weapons. This position has changed overnight, which has naturally reduced pressure on South Africa.

[Meysels] Isn't it paradoxical that unlike the West, the Eastern European countries do not at all care about sanctions now?

[Botha] That is correct. However, increasingly, the sanctions are not undermined by political factors but by the change in our country. However, we believe that based on their constructive attitude, the Central European countries can play a favorable role in South Africa. Trade relations with South Africa will have a favorable effect on the entire southern African region. Therefore, we may well say that the Central European countries show today more realism than their Western neighbors.

[Meysels] It seems to me that the Central and East Europeans expect help from South Africa rather than the other way around.

[Botha] We want to expand our relations with Central and Western Europe on the basis of common interests. South Africa is in the favorable position of doing business with countries like Hungary, Poland, the CSFR, Romania, or Yugoslavia. Perhaps these relations must ripen over the years. However, there are also opportunities of cooperation in various exchange programs in the sectors of technology, the health system, and environmental protection.

[Meysels] How long will it take to establish formal diplomatic relations with the former East Bloc, including the USSR?

[Botha] We are considering a natural development of political relations with these countries. The most important steps have already been initiated. Formal relations exist already between South Africa on the one hand, and Hungary and Poland, on the other. We believe that the other countries of the region will follow this example and will establish formal relations with South Africa. I do not want to give a specific time, but the process of normalization has already begun.

[Meysels] Now that the Soviet wire pullers in many Marxist-oriented nonaligned countries have disappeared, are you expecting a certain rapprochement to these states as well?

[Botha] It is open to argument whether the Soviets were the wire pullers in the nonaligned movement. That would be too simplistic. The nonaligned movement is in a difficult situation today because the tensions between East and West have decreased. However, in this area, too, South Africa's increasing relations with many African countries—in line with the present development in South Africa itself—could lead to closer relations with a number of African organizations as well as the nonaligned movement. We want to expand our relations on a very broad scale. That is what we will do the more our own policy is developing, and the more our good intentions are accepted.

[Meysels] Nelson Mandela also travels a lot and enjoys standing in the limelight. Yet, he seems to meet his limits as far as concrete foreign support is concerned....

[Botha] This is a completely new development in South Africa. It is inevitable that the change of a policy of mere protest to one of sharing of responsibility requires a certain time, and that this also leads to abnormal situations. Yet, in the end all political parties in South Africa are facing the same problems, problems that have nothing to do with their ideology, namely poverty, lack of housing, health problems, and unemployment.

[Meysels] Was the ANC well advised when it decided to support Iraq in the Gulf crisis?

[Botha] The ANC must decide itself where it stands in important questions. Our position is clear: Iraq must halt its military actions, withdraw its troops from Kuwait, and solve the problem peacefully on the basis of negotiations.

[Meysels] Saddam Husayn has threatened to bomb and close down the Suez Canal. As the guard of the Cape route, this would move South Africa directly to the war front....

[Botha] If the transit traffic through the Suez Canal was to be impeded through military actions, the passage around the Cape would really be the only alternative. In this case South Africa's harbors and other installations would assume a decisive importance for keeping open the sea route between Europe and the East.

[Meysels] What would South Africa do in the case of an open Gulf war?

[Botha] I do not like to answer hypothetical questions, but war would certainly be a heavy blow to all efforts to achieve detente.

### Mandela Speaks at East Rand Rally 25 November

MB2511132590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1314 GMT 25 Nov 90

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 25 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] was engaged in a process of consultation with black political organisations and homeland leaders in its major drive for "unity of the oppressed," ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela said on Sunday. He told a 20,000-strong crowd at an ANC rally in Tembisa township, on the East Rand, that the ANC hoped in the near future that concrete steps would be taken to make unity among the oppressed a reality.

Unity had become very vital to the ANC for the liberation of the oppressed, Mr. Mandela said, adding his organisation also hoped to achieve unity with the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC]. He described the ANC as the strongest political organisation, but urged organisers to increase its membership.

Mr. Mandela confirmed that ANC President Oliver Tambo would arrive in South Africa on December 14 with his 18-member entourage from London to attend the organisation's first congress after 30 years in exile.

He launched a stinging attack on the police monitoring the rally, saying the police were at the rally to provoke and kill people. He said he had received reports that the police were intimidating ANC marshals at the rally. "They (police) find it easy to spill the blood of black people. I appeal to them to leave their guns and bullets at their barracks," Mr. Mandela charged. He said police meanwhile were not taking similar action against the ultra-rightwing for disrupting government meetings simply because they were their flesh and blood.

As he said this, police in three casspirs withdrew from their positions at the stadium.

Mr. Mandela objected to the mass media reports that the ANC would be having a fight with the government in their meeting on Monday. He said he was not aware that he and Mr. F.W. de Klerk had any fight in their hands. He announced the death of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)—ANC military wing] Chief of Staff Chris Hani's mother who died in Stellenbosch recently. Mr. Hani was billed as a speaker at the rally.

#### **ANC 'Purges' UDF From 'Major Offices'**

*MB251112090 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 25 Nov 90 pp 1, 2*

[Unattributed report: "ANC Purges UDF From Leadership"]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has purged nearly all former United Democratic Front [UDF] members from its major offices.

In Natal, the Transvaal and Eastern Cape few UDF members have succeeded in gaining top jobs within ANC structures.

Only in the Western Cape have they been able to hang on: all regional office-bearers are former UDF members.

The dominance of the returned ANC exiles and former Robben Islanders over the internal leaders has been accompanied by sniping between some UDF and ANC members—although top officials in both organisations have sought to gloss over differences.

The latest defeat of UDF candidates occurred at the ANC's Natal regional congress last weekend.

Of the 12-member executive committee, made up of several former Robben Island prisoners, no UDF leaders were elected.

Operation Vula trialists and UDF and Natal Indian Congress [NIC] executive members Billy Nair and Pravin Gordhan, the NIC's Dr. Farouk Meer, Professor Jerry Coovadia and Paul David were some of the top people left out.

National UDF co-president Archie Gumede and Natal UDF chairman Curnick Ndlovu—initially touted as a possible convener—were both not elected by 410 delegates representing 66 branches.

Of the original interim committee, only two people, secretary Sibusiso Ndebele and committee member Cleopas Ndlovu retained their positions.

Former interim convener, UDF man Patrick Lekota did not stand for re-election as convener and lost the vice-chairman's position to former prisoner Jeffrey Radebe.

ANC national executive committee member and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and Sibusiso Ndebele were elected unanimously as chairman and secretary respectively.

The only NIC person elected was Mewa Ramgobin.

The Natal developments echo what happened in the Johannesburg region.

Of the 16-member ANC Internal Leadership Core, only one person, Popo Molefe, is a former UDF member. All the others are returned exiles.

Sniping between the two organisations has accompanied the virtual eclipse of UDF leaders.

At the Natal congress Mr. Radebe delivered a paper on behalf of Robben Islanders in which the UDF was described as "plagued by in-fighting, factionalism and uneven distribution of resources."

The paper accused the UDF leadership of becoming undemocratic.

"The consequence of leading by political decree and pamphlets resulted in the use of coercion and threats, especially by the youth to force the people into political campaigns," said the paper.

"This tended to alienate various sections of the oppressed and also provided fertile ground for the enemy and criminal elements to manipulate the situation in their favour," the paper goes on to say.

But Natal UDF leaders have rejected the claims.

Co-president Mr. Gumede dismissed the ANC criticism of the organisation as "ill-informed."

"That paper was written with no knowledge of what had been happening in Natal under the UDF," he said. Reacting to his non-election to the regional executive committee, Mr. Gumede said delegates at the conference were opposed to his stance on speaking to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"They therefore hold no allegiance to the UDF and the work we did in the past few years."

Top ANC people, however, this week glossed over the dispute.

Pallo Jordan, director of information and publicity, described suggestions of tensions as "rubbish."

The few internal "problems" were less than expected, he said.

It was quite natural that some people would lose positions they once held—but the vast majority of people affected had accepted it, he said.

The future of the UDF is, however, now on the line: a conference in February will decide the fate of the organisation.

Mr. Lekota, the ANC's [Orange] Free State convener-designate, confirmed this week that he would be involved in intensive discussions with ANC and UDF office-bearers in the next few weeks.

Meanwhile, three choices are under consideration.

These include relinquishing political control to the ANC [word illegible] keeping the UDF for local actions, restructuring the UDF into a national "united front" excluding the ANC or setting up a broad national patriotic front led by the ANC and including groups such as the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation.

None of the options suggest disbandment.

**Boerestaat Says Pretoria 'Destabilizing' Homelands**  
*MB2411141090 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Text] The National Association of Democratic Lawyers [Nadel] has supported the call by the Transkei military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, for the resignation of Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Nadel says Botha had threatened, intimidated, and insulted Holomisa in a way he would not do to a white schoolboy. Nadel says it extends its solidarity and support to the Transkei people. The association says it looks forward to reunification, not under President F. W. de Klerk but as part of a free, liberated, nonracial, and democratic South Africa.

The Boerestaat [Boer Nation] Party says the National Party is busy destabilizing all South Africa's homelands, not only the Transkei, and as such should resign. The extreme rightwing organization says the Transkei leader, Maj. Gen. Bantu Holomisa, is correct in believing that the South African Government is behind the failed coup attempt in Transkei on Thursday [22 Nov]. Boerestaat Party Leader Robert van Tonder says the proof is that the government's attitude to the independence of black states has changed.

**Report Notes Negotiations Process 'Totters'**

*MB2511133590 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 25 Nov 90 pp 1, 2*

[Report by political correspondent David Breier: "Crisis for FW and Mandela"]

[Text] Tuesday's [27 Nov] meeting between State President F.W. de Klerk and African National Congress [ANC] deputy president Nelson Mandela will take place in a crisis atmosphere as the negotiation process totters.

The key issue will revolve around the ANC's right to mass action. The Government insists the ANC abandon the method, while the ANC feels its right to mass action is not negotiable.

In addition, Mr. Mandela this week threatened to pull the ANC out of negotiations with the Government unless Mr. de Klerk intervened to stop the "brutal killing of black people" by police.

He also said late this week that the ANC was beginning to have serious doubts about the Government's willingness to continue negotiations and would urge Mr. de Klerk on Tuesday to accept the ANC plan for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

In turn the police claim there is a sustained murder campaign against them—about 85 policemen have been killed this year.

Forces on both sides have become more intent on a test of strength to improve their bargaining positions than on an early settlement, observers noted this week.

The negotiation process is already more than two months behind schedule as the joint working-group on questions arising out of the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle was to have reported by September 15. Yet another scheduled meeting of the joint working-group was called off on Friday.

The joint working-group has made little progress as both sides argue over the issues of violence and mass action which are holding up the release of political prisoners and the return of the exiles—which the Government has linked to the armed struggle.

The irony is that the Government and the ANC are reaching closer agreement behind the scenes on the end product—a nonracial constitution. But they are arguing more hotly than ever over how to get there.

Sources close to the negotiations say they are holding their breath over the outcome of this Tuesday's meeting between Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela, which both sides are approaching with growing nervousness.

The sources expressed fears that any agreement reached between Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela in Pretoria this week may be superficial as both leaders appear to be losing control over their hardliners.

There were even fears expressed that the ANC leadership's undertaking on August 6 to suspend the armed struggle will be hotly debated at next month's ANC consultative conference.

Mr. Mandela and his immediate leadership could be challenged at the conference to explain how they took the decision without obtaining a proper mandate from ANC structures.

Should Mr. Mandela fail to receive a firm endorsement from the conference for the suspension of the armed struggle, the negotiation process could collapse.

At the heart of tensions in the ANC is a strong feeling that Mr. Mandela has become aloof from the people.

Mr. Mandela's call for a third summit meeting with the Government to discuss negotiating structures for a new constitution has now become a much-needed initiative to keep the negotiation ball rolling.

This call led to speculation that Mr. Mandela was softening the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly. But Mr. Mandela said in Swaziland this week that he would urge Mr. de Klerk on Tuesday to heed the call for a constituent assembly and to establish an interim government.

The Government has rejected the idea of an elected constituent assembly which would inevitably result in a black-dominated body. But there are suggestions that a compromise could involve a two-phase negotiating stage, with the second phase undertaken by an elected body.

The Government also rejects the idea of an interim government, but it is prepared to compromise by giving the ANC an interim say in government both on the executive and the legislature.

The ANC is denying that Mr. Mandela's call represents in any way a softening of the ANC's demand for a constituent assembly as called for by its Harare Declaration.

### Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

23 November

MB2311120990

[Editorial report]

### THE STAR

**ANC Dilemma Over Confrontation vs Cooperation—** Political Editor John Patten writes in the "Opinion" column on page 12 of Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 23 November: "If the joint Numsa-Cosatu-ANC-SACP [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa-Congress of South African Trade Unions-African National Congress-South African Communist Party] hostel replacement proposal, which would eliminate a major flashpoint in black township politics, is a sign of the pendulum beginning to swing towards

accepting Mr. De Klerk's bona fides and starting to work with him, then it may also be a sign of growing dissension within the ANC over tactics." It would seem the ANC would gain by "continuing with disruptive tactics." But it also "sharply increases the likelihood that the country would be in a state of near-collapse by the time the ANC got to power," and problems of governing in such circumstances would be enormous. The "dilemma of when to make the tactical switch from confrontation to co-operation is not a new one." Nevertheless, President de Klerk could encourage ANC moves "towards co-operation from within the ANC, provided he can show the rank-and-file black population there is something palpable in it for them." Until he can do that the ANC will be "wary of abandoning confrontation for fear of losing support to the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]."

### BUSINESS DAY

**Thatcher Resignation—**"Thatcher transformed the British economy, revitalised the private sector, cut taxes, curbed the unions, increased individual wealth and turned a budget deficit into a surplus," notes a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 23 November discussing Thatcher's resignation. Thatcher "forced down the medicine which rescued Britain from being 'the sick man of Europe'." She "leaves behind not just a changed Conservative Party but a Labour Party which has modified its policies and purged itself of hard-line socialists. The Iron Lady has left her mark on Britain and beyond."

### NEW NATION

**'Asking Too Much' of ANC To Stop Mass Mobilization—**Johannesburg NEW NATION in English for 23-29 November in its page 6 editorial discusses police action during a mass protest march in Johannesburg on Saturday 17 November, saying it was probably "sanctioned at a high level of government." The paper warns it "is folly" to believe the ANC will drop its "democratic right to organise peacefully in the political terrain. Any political organisation that foregoes its right to organise politically loses its reason for existing." It is "asking too much" of the ANC, after it has already abandoned the armed struggle to facilitate negotiations, to "give up its sole legal and legitimate means of organising" through mass mobilization. "We say there is absolutely no reason to ban such marches. After all a week before 50,000 armed supporters of Inkatha marched through Johannesburg without incident."

### SOUTH

**Future Government To Try People for Apartheid Crimes—**The "shockingly shallow" findings of the Harms Commission into death squads have "confirmed people's worst fears about the South African government," asserts Cape Town SOUTH in English for 15-21 November in its page 25 editorial. "The virtual whitewash of the activities of shadowy groups within the security forces gives credence to an assertion by SA

Communist Party general secretary, Mr. Joe Slovo, that a future government would have to look at a Nuremberg-type tribunal to bring to book apartheid's criminals." If President De Klerk is "unable or unwilling" to put on trial state officials accused of murder and other crimes, then "it is up to a future democratic government to do so." De Klerk "mistakenly" believes the people of South Africa will let "'by-gones be bygones' now that the report has been abled." Therefore, if De Klerk is not going to see that justice is done, "someone else will have to do it in a post-apartheid South Africa."

#### THE WEEKLY MAIL

Legality of Peaceful Protest Questioned—Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English for 23-29 November in a page 34 editorial states: "Early this year, President F.W de Klerk declared that peaceful protest was legal. He should try telling this to those who tried to march through the streets of central Johannesburg last weekend and found themselves facing the wrath of police." When the ANC meets with the government it should put this issue "high up on its agenda of demands," which would "help to defuse a point of conflict, though it would—rightfully—put the onus on them, or other protest organisers, to ensure that these events are peaceful and disciplined."

24 November

MB2411094690

[Editorial report]

#### SATURDAY STAR

Pretoria Must Dismantle 'Little Monsters' Homelands—"Despite the bloodletting involved, the latest homeland coup saga is viewed as something of a joke up here in the metropolis, far away from Transkei. This is callous—more than 20 people died in this week's obscene product of the homelands policy—but more importantly, it is shortsighted," observes Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 24 November in a page 10 editorial. "Pretoria must move urgently on two fronts. Firstly, it must give immediate attention to dismantling the little monsters it has created." "Secondly, the onus is on the Government to prove that it is not involved in any way in machinations to oust this homeland leader or shore up that one."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Banning Marches 'Perilous Action'—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 20 November discusses in its page 10 editorial the government's banning of the 17 November march in Johannesburg of the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal. This march proceeded despite the banning, and deaths, injuries, and property damage resulted. The newspaper questions the government's attempt to ban this march, stating: "There are varying accounts of what happened before the chaotic street battles, but the lesson is surely that banning

marches is a perilous action. Far better to allow public protest, and put the onus on the organisers to help the police in ensuring that it is peaceful."

#### THE CITIZEN

Discussion of Challenge to Thatcher—"It is a disappointment that Mrs Margaret Thatcher did not beat off the challenge by Mr Michael Heseltine in the first ballot," notes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 22 November in a page 6 editorial. Should Thatcher be defeated in the UK Conservative leadership struggle, "with sanctions on their way out, it may not be a terrible blow if the Labour Party did come to power—except that it would try to keep alive whatever sanctions are left, and would back the ANC [African National Congress] to the hilt in the difficult period before a new constitution is decided on and before a new South Africa is in being. We still prefer Mrs Thatcher at the helm in Britain, but not as a very dented Iron Lady. Life without Maggie seems impossible—but we may have to get on without her support."

'Which Is the Real ANC?'—THE CITIZEN on 20 November in a page 6 editorial writes "we detect only a hardening of attitudes all round" in South Africa's negotiations process. It is also apparent that "there are two ANCs, or at least two ANC factions." One is the Mandela ANC, which is "willing to reach agreement with the government which have become known as Minutes." The second is "dominated by the Communists and the militarists, an ANC that plots against the government." "Which is the real ANC?" "It is about time Mr de Klerk told Mr Mandela and his summit delegation to quit mass action, mass mobilisation, intimidation and violence."

26 November

MB2611120890

[Editorial report]

#### SUNDAY TIMES

De Klerk, Mandela Must Acknowledge Mutual Need—The "National Party [NP] cannot continue to govern without the acquiescence of the black population, and the ANC [African National Congress] cannot hope to govern without the acquiescence of the white population," warns a page 20 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 25 November. Mandela and De Klerk, therefore, "need each other, and the country needs them to acknowledge that fact." "Among whites, there is a growing suspicion that the ANC means to use mass action—in effect, terror—to destroy all potential rivals in advance of real negotiation; among blacks, that the government means to emasculate the ANC by security action. It is essential for President De Klerk and Mr. Mandela to repair this damaged trust when they meet on Tuesday [27 Nov]."

**SUNDAY STAR**

'New Scepticism' Tarnishes De Klerk Respect—There are warning signals that "a new scepticism is beginning to tarnish the well-deserved respect" President De Klerk's reforms have achieved, notes Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 25 November in its page 14 editorial. Now negotiations are "beginning to founder in a welter of accusations and counter-accusations over who is most to blame for the violence that has become tragically endemic in the transition process." Mandela is becoming "increasingly persuasive when he says the Government's strategy is to weaken the ANC so that it will not emerge from negotiations in a leadership position. And his continued attacks on Mr. De Klerk's integrity are beginning to find a ready reception." To restore his credibility De Klerk should "use all his skill and patience—and make a few concessions if necessary—" to ensure that the 27 November meeting with Mandela is successful.

**THE STAR**

Holomisa Shows Military 'Unflappability'—A page 12 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 26 November states: "Say what you like about Transkei and its abortive coup, Bantu Holomisa emerges as the very model of a homeland major-general. In the midst of the bizarre events in Umtata last week he maintained his singular reputation for answering all calls personally, giving dozens of media interviews—save for one occasion when an aide apologised he was too busy keeping up with developments on SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]-TV. Military unflappability is an admirable quality. The general will yet be a man to watch as the new South Africa unfolds."

**BUSINESS DAY**

Unions 'Over-Stepping' Mark—Strike action is "increasingly being used at the drop of a hat, regardless of agreed dispute procedures," notes a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 26 November. At the Volkswagen plant in Uitenhage 600 workers

walked out to attend a court case, resulting from a dispute workers believed could have been settled internally. "Unions have great power and it is natural that they should use it, either to improve the working conditions of their members or as a political weapon when people are denied legitimate expression. The danger is that the worker elite—for that is what union members are—will undermine the general welfare of the country and their own future by over-stepping the mark."

Negotiation Process 'Truly at Work'—Alan Fine writes on the same page that conflict between government and the ANC over mass mobilization campaigns and police behavior, among other things, has been "widely interpreted as meaning that the negotiation process is in trouble. Nothing could be further from the truth." South Africa is experiencing a "crucial preliminary phase of that process, with each side angling for advantage as the rules of the game are devised." The "occasional warnings that the others' actions are threatening the negotiation process are "part of the strategy on both sides." "However difficult the next few weeks and months, however angry the exchanges between the ANC and government, the negotiation process is truly at work."

**SOWETAN**

Black Unity To Exclude Inkatha, Homeland Leaders—The page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 26 November discusses the ANC and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] commitment in Swaziland during the Preferential Trade Area summit toward a "closer working relationship." "Much of the agony in the townships has been caused by political differences between our organisations. Indeed, even the talks between Government and the ANC are likely to grind to a halt because of the lack of unity between black organisations." However, SOWETAN points out that Inkatha's culture "does not slot into that of the ANC, PAC and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization]." "Needless to say, homeleaders and black town councillors must be excluded." Many people in the homelands and townships have "suffered under these little despots."

## Angola

### Commentary Calls For 'Trust' at Peace Talks

MB2411200490 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese  
1922 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Commentary: "The Utopia That Is Delaying Peace"]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—It is with spontaneous and legitimate expectations that the Angolan people are following the development of the process of direct contacts that have been held in Portugal between the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] with a view to signing an effective cease-fire accord that will allow the country to begin a life of peace, democracy, and progress.

A climate of trust, maturity, and flexibility at the negotiating table is one of the prerequisites that must be fulfilled before the Angolan people's deep aspiration to peace can be realized. This is necessary so that we can avoid excessive and incomprehensible delays in resolving issues that are both peaceful and inescapable.

We are talking about the need for a single national army. Its formation process must begin immediately a cease-fire accord has been signed. This single national army must be above the parties to defend the new and legal democratic multiparty system.

Aware that the national army will be one of the pillars of Angolan democracy by serving that democracy rather than parties or ideologies, the governmental team has been fighting for its creation immediately after the signing of a cease-fire accord so that it can become an irreplaceable guarantee for the whole process of pacifying and democratizing Angolan society without upheavals and without fears that the sad events of 1975 will be repeated.

It is our own heartfelt experience that the cohabitation of more than one army can only result in war. The Angolan Government's position has also been backed by all patriots with good sense. Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento, the highest representative of the Catholic Church in our country, recently told Portugal's "O EXPRESSO" newspaper that "there can be no peace without trust, dialogue, and the immediate formation of a single army to defend the fatherland rather than the parties."

Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento categorically said—and we quote him again—that "there can be no elections with two or three armies, as the loser will want to continue the war." This is an obvious golden rule of democracy that everybody accepts and defends, except the UNITA gang, which will never understand the most elementary prerequisites for a true and lawful democratic state.

UNITA is pulling out all stops to keep the parties up in arms but this is contrary to what the Angolan people desire. The Angolan people are tired of this war organized from abroad. The Angolan people support and

want to participate in the development of a new political system in the country. The cornerstone of democratic order will be constitutional order to guarantee fundamental rights and define the powers of state organs. Political multiparty democracy will only occur in a climate of physical tolerance, mutual respect, and ideological openness whereby political groups compete to convince the people of the merit of their plans through reasoned arguments rather than the force of weapons.

### Savimbi Discusses Talks, Chances of Cease-Fire

MB2411081690 London BBC World Service in English  
0635 GMT 24 Nov 90

[From the "Saturdays Only" program, presented by Akwe Amusso]

[Text] This week saw the conclusion of several days of talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels. It was the fifth round of talks since April, and the meeting began amid a general air of pessimism. But against all expectations, the Portuguese media has now announced that 80 percent of a cease-fire deal had been agreed. When I spoke to UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, yesterday, he said that all that remained was to sort out the practical issues on how the cease-fire was to be monitored—whether by the United Nations, as UNITA wants—or by neutral countries, Luanda's favorite option.

Mr. Savimbi told me that as far as UNITA was concerned, an eventual political settlement enshrining a multiparty system and the unification of the two armies could be dealt with after a cease-fire was in place. Well, it is 18 months now since the high excitement and optimism of the first such talks at Gbadolite in Zaire which were mediated by President Mobutu. Those talks ended in disappointment and failure. So, I asked Mr. Savimbi whether we were in for another anticlimax:

[Begin recording] [Savimbi] No, I think there is a great difference, because though we had the four rounds of talks in Portugal which were inconclusive, but at least we were talking directly to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]. Then we could grasp the difficulties of the MPLA and also the MPLA could understand our difficulties. But with Gbadolite, we never discussed directly with the MPLA. It was UNITA talking to the MPLA through the Zairians and the MPLA talking to UNITA through the Zairians. I think that sort of a mechanism has created a lot of misunderstandings.

[Amusso] Can I ask you about aid? I know that there have been reports that the Soviet Union had offered to end its aid to Luanda in return for a cessation of aid from the United States to UNITA. Would that be something you would be happy to see?

[Savimbi] No, I think it does not work, for the fact that the Soviets, they are talking about stopping giving arms to the MPLA, but who knows if they will do it or not. If

we have a cease-fire, if we have an international body monitoring the cease-fire, then nobody needs arms. I think that the offer of the Soviet Union is good. It is encouraging, but I don't think that we need that.

[Amusso] One of the fears that has been raised is that even if a cease-fire is signed some of the armed personnel in the field in Angola will not obey it. Are you confident that you can control your forces 100 percent?

[Savimbi] I can speak about the forces of UNITA that they will obey 100 percent. If anyone is going to violate it, it will not be from UNITA. UNITA side, our soldiers, are under very strict discipline. We have been proved that, and once we find that, and we tell our soldiers and officers to comply. [sentence as heard] We know that no one is going to violate the cease-fire on our side.

[Amusso] And looking ahead of it, toward the political integration, do you foresee that UNITA will begin to operate as a political force in its present form, or can you see new political parties developing out of UNITA?

[Savimbi] Oh, no. I don't think that there will be parties within UNITA. That is a disaster. What we think is that UNITA will remain as a party. We have nothing to change in our program, our structure. We will move only into the political arena and we will leave the military side. We hope that other forces in Angola will form political parties in order to make the multiparty system work, because we don't want only to be two—the MPLA and UNITA.

[Amusso] If you were unhappy with the way things were developing after a cease-fire and after a political settlement, would you ever consider going back to the bush?

[Savimbi] No, absolutely no. I have said it several times and I am reiterating it here. I will reiterate it in the program, our manifesto for elections that if UNITA loses elections, we are not going back to the bush again. We want the Constitution to give us guarantees that we could continue our normal life as an opposition. [end recording]

#### **'De Facto Cease-Fire'**

*MB2411074190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0725 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 24 SAPA—The leader of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement in Angola, Dr Jonas Savimbi, says his forces intend to continue observing a de facto ceasefire until the next round of peace talks with the government in January.

SABC's [South African Broadcasting Corporation] Africa desk reports that Dr Savimbi said during an interview in the Ivory Coast that he hoped a formal ceasefire could be signed then. He spoke of progress in this week's round of talks with the Angolan Government in Portugal, saying that at last the government had recognised UNITA as a legitimate opposition party.

He said however that a timetable for multi-party elections still had to be agreed upon. Angolan Government representatives have also expressed optimism over this week's talks.

#### **Envoy to Britain Criticizes Rebel 'Inflexibility'**

*MB2311204490 Luanda ANGOP in French  
2001 GMT 23 Nov 90*

[Text] London, 23 Nov (ANGOP)—Luis Neto Kiambata, Angolan ambassador to the United Kingdom of Great Britain, criticized in London today UNITA's [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] obstructionist attitude in the negotiation process currently underway for peace in Angola.

The Angolan diplomat [words indistinct] to the committee of the British Parliament, described as "irrational" the inflexibility of UNITA Chief Jonas Savimbi who wants his organization to demilitarize only after elections. "This would lead the country to chaos and institutionalize political, economic and social disorders similar to those we witnessed in 1974 and 1975, during the tempestuous transitional period involving the liberation movements", Ambassador Kiambata explained, adding that there is no state that accepts an armed opposition. The Angolan ambassador to the United Kingdom stressed that our position is to reintegrate UNITA armed forces so that a single national army can be created.

The Angolan diplomat said that "with this position Savimbi shows he is not interested in achieving peace but in seizing power by force."

Turning to the issue of the democratization process currently underway in Angola, the Angolan ambassador to the United Kingdom noted that elections can only be held once the warring factions have signed a cease-fire. "There will be electoral books and international observers but the most important thing of all is to establish peace so that everyone can vote in safety anywhere in the country", Luis Neto Kiambata said.

The Angolan ambassador to the United Kingdom also called on the members of the British Committee to pressurize the United States and South Africa, among other countries, into stopping their support for UNITA so facilitate national democratization and general changes.

#### **Mozambique**

#### **War-Related Activities Monitored 19 - 25 Nov**

*MB2511190090*

[Editorial Report] Following is a compilation of reports monitored 19-25 November on activities relating to the internal conflict. Items are listed by province.

#### **CABO DELGADO**

The emergency situation has become worse in Montepuez District because of the large number of returnees who had been forced to live with the "armed bandits".

The district director of the Department for the Prevention of and Fight Against Natural Disasters in Montepuez has said that the returnees require medical care and emergency food aid. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 21 Nov 90)

#### GAZA

"Armed bandits murdered 55 people in raids Chokwe District" between January and September of this year. This was disclosed by the Chokwe District Emergency Commission during a recent session of the local assembly. A report presented by the commission at the meeting states that intensified criminal operations by the armed bandits undermine agricultural projects and other labor sectors. Also, the Mozambique Armed Forces "captured one armed bandit" who was part of a group which tried to attack the locality of Incaia in Bilene District a few days ago. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 22 Nov 90)

Twelve people were killed and 14 wounded when the "armed bandits" attacked Boite Paris restaurant on the outskirts of Chokwe city at about 2100 [1900 GMT] on 24 November. The wounded, six of whom are in serious condition, have been taken to Chokwe Rural Hospital. After the attack, the "armed bandits" looted the restaurant. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 25 Nov 90)

#### MANICA

The Mozambique Armed Forces have killed two "armed bandits" who were part of a group of criminals who attacked Chingussura ward in Chimoio city on 16 November. The two "criminals" were killed in a hot-pursuit operation mounted by the Armed Forces following the attack by the "armed bandits," which resulted in the death of seven civilians and the wounding of six others. The Armed Forces also captured two rifles. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 20 Nov 90)

Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] "armed bandits" attacked Chicanzane village killing one person and setting fire to 21 homes and 20 godowns belonging to the residents of the village. Radio Mozambique's Chimoio correspondent reports that the "armed bandits" also attacked Matchedje village on Sunday [18 Nov], killing four civilians and abducting another nine. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 22 Nov 90)

On Monday [19 Nov], "armed bandits" raided (Cuacua) ward in the outskirts of Sussundenga district headquarters, burning a flour mill and a cooperative. Other reports say 10 peasants turned themselves over to the authorities of Guro District after fleeing from "armed bandit captivity". (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0800 GMT 23 Nov 90)

#### MAPUTO

The MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY (AIM) announced that two civilians died and five others were wounded when "armed bandits attacked a convoy in Chanculu region" on the road between Maputo and Ressano Garcia. The attack occurred at approximately 1230 GMT on Wednesday 14 November. According to the source "the convoy consisted of three trucks and a

bus full of passengers." (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0400 GMT 20 Nov 90)

A group of "armed bandits attacked a convoy" between Pessane and Maguanza in Moamba District on 20 November, murdering five people. Workers of Electricity of Mozambique enterprise and Steia [expansion unknown] were with the convoy to work on a powerline [words indistinct] prompt response by the protection forces prevented the complete destruction of the equipment. Our newsdesk has received a note from the Industry and Energy Ministry saying that the attackers suffered as yet undetermined losses. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 23 Nov 90)

#### NAMPULA

"Armed bandits murdered" three people and wounded 12 others during attacks carried out in different parts of Nampula Province during the first two weeks of November. During the same period the "criminals" abducted more than 30 people, burned more than 100 houses, and plundered civilians' property. These "bandit actions" took place mainly in Ribaue, Mucate, Malema, and Mogovolas Districts. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 20 Nov 90)

Radio Mozambique's Nampula correspondent reported today that Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] "armed bandits" attacked the capital of Mucate District on 7 November, destroying two shops and several homes. The criminals also captured a number of people. Also on 7 November, "armed bandits" attacked a ward of the capital of Malema District, wounding four people and setting fire to 44 homes. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 22 Nov 90)

#### SOFALA

Eleven peasants who managed to flee "armed bandit" captivity have turned themselves over to the authorities in Chibavava District. These peasants had been abducted by the "criminals" in the Javana region in Machanga District. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 19 Nov 90)

"Armed bandits murdered a student and injured two others" during an attack against the party's interprovincial school in Inhamizua, at dawn on Monday [19 November]. The criminals stormed the students' dormitory, and stole medical equipment from the local health-post, as well as foodstuffs. "Three armed bandits were killed" when defense and security forces counterattacked. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 21 Nov 90)

#### TETE

Fourteen people who fled from "armed bandit" captivity turned themselves over to Mozambican authorities in Moatize District. Half of these citizens were children. These 14 people have already received assistance from authorities in Moatize. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0400 GMT 24 Nov 90)

#### ZAMBEZIA

The Mozambique Armed Forces recently recaptured Mecubela administrative post, in Maganja da Costa

District. That administrative post currently has some 18,000 war-displaced people. Some 9,000 of those people are experiencing acute famine and lack clothes after a lengthy period of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] "armed bandit captivity". Radio Mozambique's Mecubela correspondent reports that people in that administrative post urgently require medical care. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 24 Nov 90)

The school network in Milange, the capital of Milange District, has been reduced to 14 schools as opposed to 114 the town had in 1982. Radio Mozambique's Quelimane correspondent reports that this problem has arisen because of the "Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] armed bandits' war of destabilization." (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 24 Nov 90) The Mozambique Armed Forces "killed 58 armed bandits" in operations last week. Our forces also attacked and destroyed an "armed bandit" hideout and captured 47 light weapons, among other war materiel. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1730 GMT 25 Nov 90)

### Namibia

#### **Government Seeks Better Relations With Botswana**

*MB2511182890 Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 17 Nov 90 p 21*

[Unattributed report: "Fostering Better Border Relations With Botswana"]

[Text] In the first joint communique released to the Press on Thursday [15 Nov], the governments of Botswana

and Namibia undertook to prevent at all cost cross-border shooting incidents and pay special attention to the problem of poaching across the border.

The Namibia - Botswana Joint Commission of Defence and Security also agreed to ensure free and uninhibited access to the common rivers, and to intensify efforts aimed at promoting and protecting our fragile environment and wildlife. Both represented Governments are also to urge their own nationals to use the designated border crossing points for all movement between the two countries.

These agreements follow from the signing of a Protocol of Understanding on Defence and Security between the respective Heads of State, President Sam Nujoma and President Quett Masire, on July 26 this year.

In terms of the Preamble to the Protocol, the Namibian Government and the Botswana Government undertook to strengthen and consolidate the existing excellent relations between the two Republics, maintain the need for lasting peace and mutual understanding—especially along the common border—and to promote effective liaison in the field of security and defence.

The Botswana delegation was led by their Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Lieutenant General Mompati Merafe, assisted by the Botswana Minister of Labour and Manpower, Mr. P.K. Balopi.

The Namibian delegation was led by the Minister of Home Affairs Hifekipunye Pohamba, assisted by the Minister of Defence Peter Mueshihange.

## Ivory Coast

### Election Results Released; PDCI Takes 163

AB2611133490 Abidjan Domestic Service in French  
1245 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Excerpts] We now have all the results of yesterday's legislative elections as released by the Ministry of Interior. The results show that the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast [PDCI] has emerged victorious, with 163 seats. [passage omitted]

The Ivorian Popular Front has won nine seats and the Ivorian Workers' Party, one seat. Two independent candidates, Amadou Kone and Jean-Honore Sea, have also been elected. [passage omitted]

## Liberia

### Diplomats Say Capital Returning to 'Normal'

AB2511202090 Paris AFP in English 1903 GMT  
25 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Freetown, Nov 25 (AFP)—Liberian interim president Amos Sawyer will not attend the ECOWAS summit due to convene Tuesday in Bamako to discuss ways of ending Liberia's war, diplomatic sources said here Sunday. The sources did not say why Mr. Sawyer, who had last week said he would go to the meeting of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), had changed his mind. [passage omitted]

African diplomats here said that life in the Liberian capital Monrovia "is returning slowly to normal." Cleaning up operations were under way at the Executive Mansion which Mr. Sawyer visited Friday after he was handed the keys to the building by General Hezekiah Bowen of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). One unidentified corpse was found in the building, one diplomat said.

The diplomats said the biggest problem facing Mr. Sawyer's government "is how and when to disarm the AFL and Prince Johnson's forces." They said "both sides are now looking for leadership to control whatever new army is carved out now that Gen. Bowen has dissolved the interim defence council." Mr. Sawyer, the diplomats said, "will have to decide who could head the new army to be set up."

In another development, the United Nations office in Freetown said Sunday that a U.N. relief and security assessment team arrived Saturday in Monrovia to resume relief operations in the war ravaged city. The team includes personnel from the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and the World Health Organization (WHO).

One U.N. official said the team "will make arrangements for the distribution of international relief assistance to victims of the civil war." He said, "the relief assistance

will initially be targeted to meet food, medical and sanitary needs for some 300,000 people in Monrovia of whom a third are children."

### NPFL's Taylor Repeats Peace Commitment

AB2411231690 Gbarnga Voice of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia Radio No. 2 in English  
1900 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Text] The Liberian leader, President Charles Gankay Taylor, has repeated his commitment to the peace process in Liberia. President Taylor said the military aspect of the civil war is by all accounts over. In a recent BBC interview, President Taylor clarified that he had never objected to attend peace talks on the Liberian civil war. He said he had been saying that any peace talks on the Liberian crisis should be held in a neutral country.

President Taylor said [words indistinct] to organize meetings on Liberia, he said they were being held in countries which were directly playing major roles in the Liberian crisis. President Taylor, as part of his continued (efforts) to keep peace in Liberia, has given the assurance that he will be personally attending next week's heads of state summit on Liberia, to be held in the Malian capital of Bamako. [passage indistinct]

### Sawyer Starts Work; ECOMOG Pushes North

AB2411155090 London BBC World Service in English  
1709 GMT 23 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It is Amos Sawyer's first full day as Liberia's interim president since he was sworn in in Monrovia yesterday. He has a mammoth task ahead: first of all to achieve peace between ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] forces, Prince Johnson's rebels, and remnants of Samuel Doe's Armed Forces of Liberia [AFL] on one side, and Charles Taylor's Patriotic Front on the other. They have been shelling each other's positions in the ports of Monrovia and Buchanan, and Taylor has so far refused to recognize Sawyer or accept the ECOWAS peace plan. But Dr. Sawyer has made a start in trying to get things working again in Monrovia, which has been without water and power for months now. From Monrovia, Scott Stern telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] In his first day in office, President Sawyer met with business people and well-wishers at the temporary seat of government in the Dukor Palace Hotel. Meanwhile, his staff continued with plans to repair Monrovia's telecommunications system and power the city's water treatment facility. With the telex of congratulations yesterday from President Babangida, Nigeria became the first country to recognize Sawyer's one-year Interim Government of National Unity. The Nigerian ambassador, Abraham Tukuru, also presented four vehicles to the new president.

Continuing his efforts to keep the peace in the corner of Liberia which he controls, Mr. Sawyer met separately with rebel leader Prince Johnson and AFL General Hezekiel Bowen. Earlier, Bowen said he was proud of the work performed by the now dissolved Interim National Defense Council and said government soldiers kept their word by turning over the Executive Mansion to Sawyer upon his inauguration. It is not yet certain that Sawyer will occupy the building, but his government will most likely remain at the Dukor for the first three months.

ECOMOG also announced that they have captured the Ricks Institute, 12 miles north of town, where Taylor rebels have reportedly stockpiled ammunition in order to shell the Hotel Africa when they thought it would be the site of the interim government. ECOMOG has continued to push north of the city following this week's shelling of the free port by missiles launched from the area. The Dutch-registered carrier in the port at the time of Monday's shelling, let set anchor this afternoon after delivering 1,250 tons of World Food Program rice and 80 tons of Catholic Relief Services cornmeal for 1,600 children currently in the Medicin Sans Frontiere [Doctors Without Borders] feeding centers. [end recording]

#### **Bowen, Johnson Pledge Loyalty to Government**

*AB2411094490 Dakar PANA in English  
0925 GMT 24 Nov 90*

[Text] Monrovia, 24 Nov. (NAN/PANA)—The commander of the Armed Forces of Liberia [AFL], Lieutenant General Hezeakah Bowen, has called on the interim government of Liberia headed by Amos Sawyer to disband all rebel factions currently fighting in the 11-month-old Liberia civil war. Bowen made the call at a reception held for Sawyer and other members of the interim government by the remnant soldiers of late President Samuel Doe, who are still referred to as Armed Forces of Liberia, AFL. He suggested that ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and the AFL, which he described as the legally constituted army, should be responsible for providing and maintaining security in Liberia.

Bowen pledged the loyalty and support of the members of the AFL for the interim government and urged all Liberians to demonstrate a spirit of total, unconditional and sincere reconciliation. The AFL commander those soldiers are still regarded with awe and fear by the populace, said he regretted the past role of the government soldiers in the Liberian conflict. [sentence as received]

Responding, Sawyer said that the senselessness of a few Liberians had cost the lives of thousands of citizens. He urged, however, that nobody should be regarded as victor or vanquished. Speaking earlier at a similar reception held for him at the headquarters of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) led by

Prince Yormie Johnson, Sawyer commended the role of ECOMOG and emphasised that without peace there could be no stability.

Prince Johnson pledged the commitment of the INPFL to peace and the rule of law in Liberia. Also, he formally relinquished his position of self-appointed interim president of Liberia to Sawyer. He called for the establishment of a new socio-economic order of free enterprise and market economy.

President Sawyer was given a 21 gun salute at the INPFL base. He was also treated to a musical show conducted by Prince Johnson himself who sang the reggae song by the Rivers of Babylon and No More War in Liberia, to the admiration of the interim president and other officials including ECOMOG field commander, Nigeria's Major General Joshua Dogonyaro.

#### **Sawyer Promises Refugee Resettlement, Elections**

*AB2511211090 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 25 Nov 90*

[Text] In another presidential news item, the president, Dr. Sawyer, is pledging his government's unqualified commitment to pursue the achievement of his mandate and timeframe. The Liberian Interim Government of National Unity has a mandate of repatriating and resettling Liberian refugees in neighboring countries; initiate the process of reconciliation; and conduct free and fair elections for the return of Liberia to democratic rule.

In his inaugural speech on Thursday in Monrovia, the Liberian interim president assured that the human and constitutional rights of Liberians will be fully protected. All Liberians will be equally treated before the law and the interim government will pursue the policy of a free press, he added.

Dr. Sawyer then called on Liberians to forgive each other and forget the past which divided them. According to him, the rule of law will be the order of the day. On foreign policy, the interim president said Liberia will maintain a policy of peace, friendship, and cooperation with all people and countries, and honor all international agreements and organizations.

#### **Officials Say Kakata To Be Taken 26 November**

*AB2511182690 Paris AFP in English 1814 GMT  
25 Nov 90*

[Text] Freetown, Nov 25 (AFP)—Eyewitness reports reaching here Sunday said two Nigerian fighter pilots from the West African peacekeeping force in Liberia caused the death of one man and injuries of 15 others when they buzzed the town of Bo, 150 miles (240 kilometers) from here.

Witnesses said it was the first time planes from ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], as the force is known, had flown over a provincial town in Sierra Leone

on their bombing missions in Liberia or on surveillance missions on the Sierra Leone-Liberian border, which remains under control of Liberian rebels headed by Charles Taylor. Eyewitnesses said the two Nigerian F-14 fighter planes flew low over Bo township, causing panic during which a man collapsed and died.

Paramount chief Dennis Boimah told AFP by telephone Sunday, "when the planes came into view, fear gripped us as we thought it was (rebel leader) Taylor making good his threat to bomb Sierra Leone as a reprisal for letting ECOMOG planes take off from here to bomb his stronghold."

In another development, ECOMOG secretariat officials in Freetown disclosed that troops of the force "are well advanced in their fight to capture the town of Kakata," 12 miles north from Monrovia, one of the strongholds of the Taylor's National Patriotic Front. The officials said the troops expected to capture the town by Monday. They said casualties among the rebels "have been heavy" but they did not mention any losses on the ECOMOG side.

The officials said "mopping up operations are now going on around the Ricks Institute area", six miles northwest of Monrovia, which was captured by ECOMOG troops on Thursday. One ECOMOG soldier died and three were wounded. All were Nigerians. They were airlifted to Freetown Friday and transferred to Lagos Saturday.

Meanwhile the ECOMOG secretariat issued fresh warnings Sunday to international maritime companies "not to dock at the port of Buchanan," a stronghold of Mr. Taylor's forces. The secretariat said "Buchanan still remains a war target and is under constant surveillance by ECOMOG."

ECOMOG officials said the port was being used to supply arms and other military hardware to Mr. Taylor's rebels by Libya and Burkina Faso.

### Nigeria

#### Babangida Reaffirms Determination on Transition

AB2511170290 Dakar PANA in English  
1324 GMT 25 Nov 90

[Text] Ilorin, (Nigeria) 25 Nov. (NAN/PANA)—Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has re-affirmed in Ilorin, western Nigeria, the determination of his

administration to hand over power in 1992 to "responsible Nigerians we are committed to selfless service to the nation rather than self."

"We have set our hands on the plough, there is no going back," he said as he called on all Nigerians to join him "in lifting this great country above the selfish interest of individuals or groups in our society. [no end quote as received]

Speaking at a banquet Saturday night at the end of a four-day working tour of Nigeria's western state of Kwara, Babangida also said he was afraid of "what would become of our beloved country if we fail as Nigerians in this last decade to lay a firm foundation for posterity."

Speaking of death philosophically, Babangida said "the death I fear to die is the type where our offsprings would point to our graves and say, therein lies the remains of the lack-lustre generation that could not look beyond its nose."

Babangida, however, found solace in history when he quickly added that "history teaches us that all men who have influenced humanity in their own individual ways because of their personal visions, have drunk deeply from the well of persecution."

He said the visions of such leaders never deserted them, and they alone "understand their mission, their goal, their expectation and their aspiration." He said "it is only much later that others begin to appreciate their ideas."

#### National Airline Denies Ties With South Africa

AB2511134890 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
0600 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] The Nigerian Airways has reacted to a newspaper report in which it was alleged that it had a top-level meeting with the South African Airways. It denied the allegation, saying that there was no time it had any meeting with South African Airways.

The Nigerian Airways reaffirmed its commitment to the nation's policy of non-contacts with the South African Government and its agencies. It emphasized that although it remained guided by its commercial agreement with foreign airlines, it could not hold meetings with nations whose policies were repugnant to Nigeria and her people.

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